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TESTIMONY OF ROBERT F. WILLIAMS

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PART 1

FEBRUARY 16, 1970

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J. G. SOURWINE, *Chief Counsel*
JOHN R. NORPEL, JR., *Director of Research*
ALFONSO L. TARABOCHIA, *Chief Investigator*

RESOLUTION

Resolved, by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, that the attached resolution relating to the citation of Robert F. Williams for contempt of the Senate be reported favorably to the Committee on the Judiciary; together with the attached draft report thereon.

Approved October 2, 1971.

(NOTE.—The resolution and draft report referred to above are printed separately. On page 3, the draft report states: "The Report of Proceedings, or Transcript, covering Williams' appearance before the subcommittee on February 16, 1970, and March 24 and 25, 1970, separately printed, is transmitted herewith and is expressly made a part hereof by reference.")

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT F. WILLIAMS

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1970

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 2:20 p.m., in Room 2300, New Senate Office Building, Senator Strom Thurmond presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; John R. Norpel, Jr., research director; and Alfonso L. Tarabochia, chief investigator.

Senator THURMOND. The subcommittee will come to order.

Are you ready to proceed?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, Mr. Chairman. Do you wish to swear the witness?

Senator THURMOND. If you will hold up your hand and be sworn.

The evidence you give in this hearing shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth so help you God.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, ACCOMPANIED BY ROGER E. CRAIG, ATTORNEY

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Williams, would you give the reporter your name and your address.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Robert Franklin Williams, 18640 Justine, Detroit, Mich.

Senator THURMOND. I have just a few questions and then I will turn the matter over to counsel.

Mr. Williams, could you tell us for the record when you returned to the United States and under what circumstances?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I returned to the United States in September. I think it was about the 10th, I think, near about that time, but I returned to the United States from Africa, that I had been in Africa at the time for about 3 or 4 months and before then I was in China, People's Republic of China, and I came back to the United States because I was coming home. I have been gone since 1961, and I felt that this was a good time for me to return. I thought that conditions had changed to such an extent that I would come near now receiving a fair hearing and obtaining justice in this country, especially in Michigan.

Senator THURMOND. And you returned in September. Do you remember the date? September 1969?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. September of 1969. But I think it was about the 10th. It might not have been exact. May have been a day later. The 10th or 11th when I arrived in Detroit.

(Editor's Note—Subsequently, the subcommittee came into possession of a TWA report on the matter of Williams' transportation, together with certain news and editorial references to the incident, which were ordered into the record and appear in the appendix to this volume at p. 51.)

Senator THURMOND. What countries did you visit while you were away? Where did you first go? Would you tell us the routine that you followed? The different countries you went to?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I went to Canada first, and I had planned to stay in Canada. I stayed in Canada with my wife for about 6 weeks, and we were living a normal life until the Canadian press reported that the U.S. Government had asked that I be apprehened and sent back to the United States, but it happened that this was published in the press before the Canadian authorities tried to take me into custody. So then I decided that we have to leave Canada because it was not safe there, and I went from Canada to Cuba, and I stayed in Cuba with my family for 5 years; while I was in Cuba, I visited China, the People's Republic of China, twice from Cuba and I also visited Vietnam and later in 1966 we moved to China to live.

Senator THURMOND. Now, you made your headquarters in Cuba, more or less had your residence there, for how many years before you moved to Red China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Five years.

Senator THURMOND. And during the 5 years you visited Red China and visited Vietnam and what other places?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, that is all that I visited from there. I visited China twice and Vietnam once.

Senator THURMOND. Then you moved to Red China permanently?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Senator THURMOND. How long did you live there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I stayed there for about 3 years.

Senator THURMOND. From what period to what period?

Mr. WILLIAMS. From 1966 to 1969, but while I was there in China I also visited Africa last year in 1968 and I stayed in Tanzania for about 6 months, almost 6 months, 5 months and about a week.

Senator THURMOND. What was your purpose in returning to the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, my purpose was to return home because the first thing, that this is my home and that I resented being forced away from my home. I have been away 8 years, over 8 years, and I have resented every moment of it, and I only left the United States because I was being unfairly charged. I was an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and I have fought for civil rights and this incurred the wrath of officials in Monroe, my hometown in North Carolina, and I had a lot of trouble with the law, the police, and with the Ku Klux Klan. So the idea was that I was forced out of the country and forced to leave, and I felt at this time that things had changed, that conditions had changed to the extent that I could expect a fairer hearing on my return, that I would also stand a better chance here in the country.

Senator THURMOND. Now, did you visit any other countries besides those you mentioned while you were away?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. Just to pass through other countries. I visited the country near Tanzania—Zambia. I visited Zambia and I went from Tanzania to Zambia on a motor vehicle and I took a trip across the countryside for 10 days.

Senator THURMOND. Did your family accompany you on these trips?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. No. I went with one Tanzanian and American and we just went——

Senator THURMOND. Where was your wife then? Did you have any children with you then or just your wife?

Mr. WILLIAMS. My children at that time were in China because that was when I went on the trip, was during my first visit to Africa in 1968. You see, I have been to Tanzania twice and at that time my children, boys, remained in China.

Senator THURMOND. Now, what is your assessment of the current situation within the United States now?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I think it is very bad and there have been some improvements that I have noticed as far as some advances for us as a people, but also I notice that conditions are worsening as far as relations between the two races. In fact, I have been shocked to find that there is a great distance between us now, between the races in some respects than before I left and find that in the schools, I find among—when I go along to black students, that they are complaining about the schools, and it appears that race relations are bad in the schools. I know that they are bad in the factories and places of employment. Also I have heard soldiers, black soldiers, complaining, and in the Armed Forces race relations I find are very bad, and I think unless some consideration is given to this, serious consideration, I think that there is a great potential for an explosion, for violent explosion in the country between the races.

Senator THURMOND. Did you state specifically for what purposes you went to those other countries other than leaving Canada because our Government had asked that you be returned here?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is why I went to Cuba, but I left Cuba because I had some disagreement with the Cuban Government, and I left as a result of this disagreement, and from there I went to China, but I left China because I wanted to return to the United States. I returned to the United States specifically because this was my home. The fact was that I was not Chinese. While the Chinese treated me very well and treated me as an honored guest, but I still was not Chinese, and the fact is that I have relatives here in the United States, and I felt also that having lived abroad I had gained certain experiences and insight into a lot of problems, and I thought I would also be able to make a contribution to my people, among my people, in America.

Senator THURMOND. How were you treated in Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, as an individual I was treated very, very well in Cuba, but my only problem was that—I had a disagreement with the Cubans on the basis of the race issue primarily in America because the Cubans maintained that the race issue in America is due to class oppression, that is class struggle, rather than racial struggle, and the Cubans maintained that—in fact, they insisted that the white workers are being exploited in the United States and the white workers, the

working class, is a natural ally of the black people and that eventually the white workers will—the working class will unite with the black people and that they will bring about the necessary changes to improve conditions for all people including the black people. But having lived in the United States and having experienced the fact that most of the people who were sympathetic toward us were either intellectuals, upper class or middle class people, and the children, their children, but I did not know many workers, in fact any farmers in the South when I lived there who were sympathetic.

I know some intellectuals, but I differed with the Cubans on this basis plus I am a black nationalist, and the Cubans said that they did not support black nationalism because they had a black population in Cuba and they did not want these ideas to catch on among their people. So they said they could not support it. And I told them that my whole struggle, all of my resistance had been based upon the fact that I was fighting against racial discrimination plus I told them when I went into Radio Havana that it looked like Mississippi, and they asked me what did I mean when I said it looked like Mississippi, and I told them because all the faces in the station, all of the faces were white, and that this looked like Mississippi to me. It was what I would expect in Mississippi, and also in the foreign ministry I found the same thing. So later they did bring some black Cubans into the foreign ministry, but they got some people who were not qualified which only brought about a state of frustration and made it look worse.

But they were nice to me as far as giving me a home, giving me a car, but the fact was they wanted to tell me what our struggle was all about. They wanted to tell me how it must be solved. And so I was the one who had had the experience, and I thought that I understood this problem better than they did, and some of them agreed.

But as a result of this, I had a lot of problems with the party, the Communist Party in Cuba, and they said that I was anti-Communist and that I was a reactionary. So in 1965, before I left Cuba, I tried to come to the United States, but then the State Department would not issue me the necessary travel documents. I applied at the Swiss Embassy in Havana, and they kept sending for more information and sending more forms for me to fill out. So I finally asked the Chinese if I could have asylum in China. So I asked them for permission to go there and the Chinese allowed me to go to China, and this is why I went to China instead of coming here. I also asked the Canadian Government to allow me to come to Canada to give me political asylum, and they said I had to land there first and then apply as a landed immigrant, but I did not have the facilities to go there, so I went to China.

Senator THURMOND. Under what passport did you travel to China, I mean to Cuba and then to Red China and other countries?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I actually did not have a passport at all when I went to Cuba because at that time it was not required for an American to have a passport to go to Cuba. But when I first visited China, I had a travel document that was issued by the Cuban Government. It was a special alien's document and also when I left China for Tanzania I had a Chinese alien document which I had to have before I could leave the country because I have never had an American passport until

I went to the American Embassy in Tanzania last year, in 1968. And then it was only a travel document to return home.

Senator THURMOND. Did you get visas to any of those countries before you entered them?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, yes, yes. Visas to China, to Vietnam, and to Tanzania I got before I went there.

Senator THURMOND. Those were the only countries you went to?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I went to Zambia.

Senator THURMOND. Did you have a visa there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I got it at the border.

Senator THURMOND. Did you go to any other countries?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. Not to visit. Just passing through countries. Of course I stayed in England for a week, but that was in jail.

Senator THURMOND. What other countries did you pass through besides those you mentioned?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I passed through Ethiopia, Kenya, Egypt, through Italy, Switzerland, and Britain.

Senator THURMOND. How long did you stay in those countries?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I just passed through there with the exception of Britain. In London I spent a week in prison there.

Senator THURMOND. Why were you in prison there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, because I had been told in Dar es Salaam when I applied for a visa that I did not need a visa to pass through London because I was an intransit passenger. So when I arrived in London at the airport, I was pulled out of the line with the other passengers and then two men came up and said they were from the CID, Criminial Investigation Division, and said they wanted to talk to me. So they took me in a room and then they said that they would have to search me, and I asked them why did they have to search me, and they said because my FBI—I do not know why they called it my FBI—but they said, "Your FBI has informed us that you are carrying arms and ammunition into the United States." I asked them do they think I had arms and ammunition in a suitcase. But anyway, after they had kept me there for about 3 or 4 hours going through my things, they finally said they did not have any place for me to stay at the airport, and I would have to go to Pentonville until my plane left for Detroit the following morning. I did not know where Pentonville was, so I agreed to go there with them, and when I got there I discovered it was a prison. They said it was just a matter of staying overnight.

The next morning when I was supposed to have left, they said that TWA, the company that I had the ticket on, on their line, that TWA had refused to take me, and I was in Britain without any legal documents and a visa or anything. And I was stuck. They said I would have to stay in prison because TWA had also asked other airlines not to fly me to America. And they had—they said that they would take me back to Cairo, and I told them that I did not want to go to Cairo, that I was on my way to Detroit, and they said no airline would take me.

So this went on for a week and finally I also asked them—they had taken my travel document at the customs, my American traveling document, then they said I did not have any papers at all. They said that I did not even have American papers. Well, what they did not

know was that I had a travel document that I had left China on, so I told them—I asked them if they would contact the Chinese consulate in London and so they said, well, they could not do that. They would have to contact the Americans. So finally after a lot of protests started in Britain and some of the members of Parliament was opposed to what happened, I was finally released from the prison in London, and they said they did not have any charges, there were no charges, but they had been—they had had the FBI to report to them and the FBI had reported that I had—that I definitely had arms and ammunition.

Senator THURMOND. Did you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, no.

Senator THURMOND. Now, while you were away, did you get any money from the United States or any persons in the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, sometimes I used to get money from the United States because I had a newsletter, and sometimes people would just put money in letters and they would send it to me from different places, from the United States and also from all over the world, because I had a newsletter when I lived in North Carolina and this is where it had been started. Some of the people who had been supporting it when I was in the United States continued to support it when I was abroad.

Senator THURMOND. You do not know who that money was from?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, it was just—sometimes it would be a dollar, sometimes it would be $10, and sometimes as much as $100, but I do not know exactly because there were a lot of people I did not even know, and they were subscribing to the newsletter and they supported it.

Senator THURMOND. How did they send this money, in American dollars or just paper bills or what form was it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Sometimes they sent just American dollars. They would fold it up in the letters and send it. And a few times some people sent checks, money orders that they sent to me.

Senator THURMOND. Was this your chief source of income while you were in China and Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. No. When I was in Cuba I was there as a refugee in Cuba, and I had a status as political asylum which meant that the government was responsible for my upkeep the same as when refugees come here to this country from Cuba or Hungary or wherever they come from. The Cuban Government kept me up, maintained me and gave me an allowance.

Senator THURMOND. Did they furnish you clothes as well as food and lodging?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. They furnished me the lodging and money but as far as the clothes, I had to buy the clothes but I had a special place to get the clothes where the diplomats bought their things, the stores.

Senator THURMOND. Did you buy them cheaper there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, it was about the same, but there was—in there there was no rationing.

Senator THURMOND. No rationing. They had rations in other places?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, with the exception of the diplomatic stores because this was for the diplomats.

Senator THURMOND. So the rationing did not apply to you while you were there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, in some things it did, but usually in the diplomatic store they did not bother with it. If I had to go out to get things, the rationing applied to me.

Senator THURMOND. What work did you do there and what pay did you receive for it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, actually I did not work there. I continued to write my newsletter that I had started in this country, and I went there as a refugee. Even in Cuba when I broadcast on the radio, I was not working for the Cuban Government. I never worked for the Cuban Government, and I was not on any payroll. But my family was granted political asylum by Fidel Castro, and the Cuban Government became responsible for our welfare, for the scholarships for my children and for our medical attention, also for an allowance to spend.

Senator THURMOND. How much allowance were you given?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, in the beginning I was given—after I was there for a year I was given 300 pesos a month. Later, the year before I left, before I left, I was given 400 pesos.

Senator THURMOND. And what was a peso worth?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Equivalent to a dollar, supposed to be.

Senator THURMOND. You were given that much for no service?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No service. Also a house.

Senator THURMOND. You were given a house?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I had a house that was free, yes, and a car.

Senator THURMOND. You were given food?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I had to buy the food.

Senator THURMOND. You were given a house to live in and 300 or 400 pesos a month?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, and a car.

Senator THURMOND. You had to buy your food?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Senator THURMOND. How about your automobile?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was free. It belonged to the Cuban Government.

Senator THURMOND. What about the gas and oil?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was free.

Senator THURMOND. Your maintenance of the car?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was free.

Senator THURMOND. So all you had to do was to buy your food?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. Food and clothing.

Senator THURMOND. And what service did you have to render to the Government for what they gave you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I did not have to render any because I was in as a refugee. They took me into the country as a refugee and by special orders of Fidel Castro they gave me refugee status, gave me political asylum as a refugee from the United States.

Senator THURMOND. Well, did you know Castro? Had you ever met him before you went there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Senator THURMOND. Where had you met him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I had visited Cuba in 1960. In 1960 a group of Afro-American newspapermen were invited to Cuba, and I was among the group, and when I went into Cuba, I met Fidel Castro and other

Cubans, and in fact some of the Cuban officials suggested that I could stay there then, and I told them that, no, I had to go back home, that I did not want to stay in Cuba. But that was in 1960, and I knew him.

When I went in 1961, this is why he personally had them to give me political asylum.

Senator THURMOND. Well, did you get your lodging, the use of an automobile with fuel and maintenance and your compensation or allowance each month by direct orders of Castro?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Senator THURMOND. How do you know it was on his direct orders?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I know it was because——

Senator THURMOND. Did you see him when you first got there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I did not see him when I first got there, but I saw some of his assistants and later I saw him, and he asked a woman who was responsible for taking care of my affairs—he came up to her and told her that he did not want me to have any problem in Cuba, and he asked me if I was being treated all right.

Senator THURMOND. Did you see Castro at intervals?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes—well, I used to meet him at banquets, state banquets, and on National Day, and sometimes I would meet him around sometimes in a restaurant. If he passed me some place in his car along the street, he would usually stop to talk to me.

Senator THURMOND. Well, did you go to his place, his office or his home, to confer with him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. Actually——

Senator THURMOND. Or did he come to your home or some mutual meeting place?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. Usually I would meet him, say, if they had a state banquet or some place, some official gathering, and sometimes I would see him in a restaurant where he used to go, but he did not really have an office. It was very difficult to find him because he had got no specific office.

Senator THURMOND. He has no headquarters?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. He has got headquarters for the party and for the Army and other things, but he has got nobody—nobody knows exactly where he stays because he has got maybe 15 or 20 houses, and they know which one he is in that night. This is for his own security.

Senator THURMOND. Now, did you maintain contact with persons in the United States after you left this country?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, some, yes. I wrote to people and also by telephone.

Senator THURMOND. Who paid your telephone bill?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they had to pay it on this side, you see, to make a call from Cuba because of the fact they had had some dispute or something about paying in dollars, they said the Cubans owed the telephone company money, so a person can call out of Cuba, and if the person in America will accept the telephone call, then it can be placed.

Senator THURMOND. But you did not pay it down there, and the Cuban Government did not pay it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, no, no. Sometimes it would come out on a bill for a charge, a service charge. I think it was about 50 cents for a call to the United States that the Cuban Government got, but it was not really for the call. It was a service, some type of international service charge.

Senator THURMOND. What was your purpose in maintaining contacts with people back here?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the first thing was I had relatives here. I had friends and some of the calls that I placed were to newspapers and correspondents who kept in touch with me and called. Also for people in the family and other friends, people also who were active in the civil rights movement in this country.

Senator THURMOND. Well, what was your purpose in broadcasting programs beamed to the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, my purpose was to throw some light on the problems of our people in the States, also to try to inspire our people and to inspire them to resist oppression and injustice. Also it was somewhat of a link and it was entertainment because I also played music. And it was to me my own personal propaganda machine. It was also good for propaganda for nationalist propaganda, because I was interested in spreading the idea of nationalism.

Senator THURMOND. What did you hope to accomplish through the issues of "The Militant" and other pamphlets which were distributed in the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. You mean my crusader newsletter, called "The Crusader," that was distributed here? Well, I expected the same thing, because the idea was to create a link and also to reach our people, to inspire our people to unite, to also inspire them to resist injustice, and to work to bring about change.

Senator THURMOND. Were you advocating or did you suggest that they initiate a revolution?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I advocated that they resist violence, racist violence and racist oppression, that they resist it with violence, but some people thought that I had advocated revolution, but the fact was that they did not read the pamphlets very well because I had always stipulated that I was for the support of the U.S. Constitution, that you would see if you read these all the way through from the very beginning that my complaint was because the Constitution was not being extended to us and that we should fight for the enforcement of the Constitution of the United States. And I also stated that what would happen, what could possibly happen in America, if these changes for justice and these changes for righteousness did not come about. And some people construed this as meaning that I was advocating these policies, but careful scrutiny of these publications will prove that I was saying that this is the way that this thing would develop and there was going to be great violence in this country on the justice—unless justice was granted. I even went on to describe how this could come about.

Senator THURMOND. How did your pamphlets enter the United States? How did you transmit them back here?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the first one came through Canada. They were mailed from Cuba to Canada and then to the United States.

Senator THURMOND. Well, how did the rest of them come?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the other ones came from China directly to the United States, through the mail, through the post office.

Senator THURMOND. Through the mail?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Senator THURMOND. Were there any other channels that you used to transmit your pamphlets or material back to the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. The only thing was that sometimes when people came to Cuba, somebody that I saw, sometimes they would bring some, but I already had access to the post office. It was not necessary to send them in a clandestine way.

Senator THURMOND. Who paid for postage or cost of transmitting?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, actually I paid out of my allowance for them to be brought in from—at least paid to Canada.

Senator THURMOND. Were you given a special allowance by Cuba or China for that purpose?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But I was given a special allowance for myself and my family and also in China I did not pay for the postage. In Cuba I had to put them through some type of a meter.

Senator THURMOND. So the Governments of Cuba or China or the Communist Parties in those countries did not provide the means or the expense of getting your pamphlets back here?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they supported me and they supported me financially, and from the support that I got myself, I was able to send them back.

Senator THURMOND. They gave you enough allowance to support you and your family and take care of this in addition?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. But however in China I did not pay to send them. In China I just would send them without—through the mail. In fact, I had them sent to the post office. In China I did not even bother to take them to the post office. People picked them up. Workers picked them up for me and sent them.

Senator THURMOND. Now, were you associated with any political or radical movement or organizations in the United States before you went to Cuba, before you left this country, or since your return have you been so associated?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, when I left I was president of the Union County Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Senator THURMOND. The what?

Mr. WILLIAMS. NAACP.

And while I was abroad, when I was in Cuba, I was asked to become the chairman of the Revolutionary Action Movement, and so I volunteered, at least volunteered to let them use my name in that.

When I was in China I was asked to become the chairman of the Republic of New Africa, and I agreed to let them use my name in that.

Senator THURMOND. Have you advocated the overthrow of the U.S. Government?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. Not as far as advocating it. I have said that it will be overthrown unless the Constitution is honored in this country and constitutional rights extended to our people, and there is a possibility.

Senator THURMOND. You have not written articles along that line? You have not encouraged any individuals along that line?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they might have been encouraged, but I would not say they have. Maybe they have been encouraged and maybe they have not been encouraged, because the fact is that many people see

things from different views because I meet people every day and they read things into what I say that I have got a completely different view, a different thought about it. They will have another thought. One person will think one thing and another one will think something else. So I would not say that nobody has been inspired by that, but it was not the—the purpose was not that. The main purpose was to try to bring about some change under this Government. The purpose was also to—I had hoped to shock a lot of whites into seeing what the future would look like, that if they would see this possibility and this potential for destruction, that they would be more willing to change and to effect change. But this is what I had hopes because also if you check the contents of these publications, you will find that they always ended by saying that this would happen if we did not obtain justice, that this would happen in this country, and I had hoped that the whites would understand this. The new sentiment building up among our people. Also the frustration of our people, and I hoped to reflect this in a way that whites could understand this and that they would be willing to change.

Senator THURMOND. Have you joined the Communist Party at any time in your life?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. No. I have never.

Senator THURMOND. Do you consider yourself a Communist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, no. No. I consider myself a black nationalist.

Senator THURMOND. Do you believe in the policies of the Communists?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. Not—I believe in some of the policies, but I do not believe in all of the policies of the Communists because they have some things that I think are favorable and they have some things that are not favorable.

Senator THURMOND. Did you work with the Communists in Cuba or in Red China to conspire against the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, not that I know of, because I was having trouble out of the Communists. When I was in Cuba I was probably having more trouble out of the Communists than the United States was having.

Senator THURMOND. You are not sympathetic to the Communists?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, not as a Communist, but I am most certainly sympathetic to the—not as Communists but I am most sympathetic toward the Chinese people because they are very hard-working people, and they worked very hard.

Senator THURMOND. You have not taken steps of any kind that you feel are against the Government of the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I may have taken steps against the U.S. Government because some things about the U.S. Government I do not like either, and that is like things pertaining to racial discrimination and the attitude of not giving our people equality. I do not necessarily mean social equality but an opportunity to survive and equal protection of the law. I am opposed to the fact that we do not get equal protection under the law. And I have fought against this even in the NAACP. NAACP is against this, and it is a matter of principle and conscience to me. But it has really got nothing to do with communism. It is not that I am trying to bring about a Communist state, but I would like to see a democratic state in America and most of all I would

like to see our Constitution enforced and I would like for the Constitution to apply to me as well as any other American.

Senator THURMOND. Did you or did you not work with the Government of Cuba or individuals in Cuba, the Government of China or individuals in China, to help bring about a revolution here to overthrow this Government?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. No. Because the Cuban Government feels that any revolution that comes to America will be a revolution—a class revolution on the basis of black workers and poor white workers collaborating to overthrow the Government. This is diametrically opposed to what I believed in. So we did not have any basis to work together to foster any revolution in this country.

Also that the Chinese also feel that it is a class struggle. This is the Marxist-Leninist theory. So the Chinese were always saying that it would be the working class, black and white working class in the United States, but the Chinese did not see any particular need in pushing a revolution in the United States because China is a very big country and is growing fast and becoming industrialized, and they have got their hands full in Asia. So they are not too concerned with fostering any revolution here. But they do say that the American people, once they wake up, the black people and the white working class and the white farmers here, that they will rise up and overthrow the Government and create a socialist society, and they actually believe this. But they are not really doing anything to bring this about.

Senator THURMOND. Did you take any steps to inspire or foster a black revolution in this country while you were within the country or without the country?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. Not to inspire black revolution, but I did do everything I could to inspire black men to defend their homes, their women and children when there is a breakdown of law, and I always specified in everything I wrote and everything I said that this was the last resort when the law fails to protect our people, when the law fails to protect our women and children, and I hoped to inspire black men to defend themselves, their families, and to defend their communities against aggression, and this is what I advocated. But not as far as a black revolution to overthrow the Government.

Senator THURMOND. Did you attempt to enlist the aid of the Government of Cuba or the people of Cuba or the Government of Red China or the people of Red China to help bring about a black revolution in this country?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But I did solicit their support and sympathy for the black people in America. In fact, I was the one who made the appeal to Mao Tse-tung to make a statement in support of the black people in America, and I appealed to them on many occasions, not only them but also other leaders in the world like Sukarno, Nkrumah, U Thant, Prince Sihanouk, and others, but not just Communists but I appealed to others all over the world to speak out against racial oppression and injustice.

Not only that, but I also appealed to people in this country. In fact, I even appealed to Senator Dodd on one occasion when I was in Cuba. I have a letter that I received from him. But it was not just an appeal to Communists. It was an appeal to all people that I solicited their aid because I see this racial injustice as a grave evil, and I know that it is bad.

You see, I have lived as a black man, and as a black man I know how hurtful this is, and I know that it is becoming intolerable, and unless somebody settles this peacefully, it is bound to lead to violent conflict.

Senator THURMOND. Now, counsel has some questions that he will wish to ask you.

If you wish to proceed?

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

If it please the chairman, may the record show that the witness is accompanied by counsel, and I will ask his counsel to identify himself for the record.

Mr. CRAIG. Attorney Roger E. Craig, from Michigan.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are a State senator of Michigan, are you not, sir?

Mr. CRAIG. Yes, I am.

Mr. SOURWINE. And what is your office address?

Mr. CRAIG. 3305 Cadillac Tower, Detroit, Mich., Woodward 10737.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Williams, you are here under subpena from the committee, is that correct?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. There were several different subpenas served upon you and your appearance was several times postponed at the request of you or your counsel?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. For your convenience?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I will not read it at this time, but I will ask that the record may include at this time the succession of subpenas and the correspondence with the witness' counsel, at that time, Mr. Bernard Fieger.

Senator THURMOND. You have no objection?

Mr. CRAIG. No objection.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

(The documents marked "Exhibit 5" follow:)

EXHIBIT NO. 5

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

To Robert Williams (scheduled to arrive in Detroit on September 12th on a TWA flight originating in England), Greeting:

Pursuant to lawful authority, you are hereby commanded to appear before the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the full Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States, on September 30, 1969, at 10:30 o'clock a.m., at their committee room 2226, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., then and there to testify what you may know relative to the subject matters under consideration by said committee, and bring with you any and all wire or tape recordings, photographs, photographic or motion picture film, correspondence or copies thereof, notebooks, diaries, address books or lists, telephone books or lists, membership rosters or lists, or any other documents or papers now in your custody or under your control, the property of Robert Williams, or Mabel Williams, having to do with the following subjects or any of them:

1. Plans for revolutionary activity against the Government of the United States either in furtherance of a so-called "Republic or New Africa" or in any other connection;

2. The so-called "Republic of New Africa" or "New African Republic" and any officers, representatives, or agents thereof;

3. Financing of a proposed negro republic within the present boundaries of the United States of America;

4. The activities of the revolutionary organization known as RAM or any member or members thereof as such.

Hereof fail not, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided.

To Alfonso Tarabochia to deliver to U.S. Marshal, Detroit, Mich., to serve and return.

Given under my hand, by order of the committee, this 11th day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary.

SEPT. 12, 1969.

I made service of the within subpoena by personally handing the original of this subpoena to the within-named Robert Williams at Room 924—Federal Building, Detroit, Michigan, at 12:50 o'clock P.M. on the 12 day of September, 1969.

ORVILLE H. TROTTER,
U.S. Marshal.

RETURN ON SERVICE OF WRIT

United States of America,
Eastern District of Michigan ss:

I hereby certify and return that I served the annexed Subpoena—Judiciary & Subcommittee on Internal Security on the therein-named Robert Williams by handing to and leaving a true and correct copy thereof with Bernard Fieger, Attorney and authorized to accept for Robert Williams personally at 3305 Cadillac Tower Bldg., at Detroit, Michigan, in the said District at 3:30 p.m., on the 14th day of November, 1969.

ORVILLE H. TROTTER,
United States Marshal.
By FRED H. PARAMORE,
Deputy.

Marshal's fees_____
Mileage_____

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

To Robert Williams, 18640 Justine, Detroit, Michigan, Greeting:

Pursuant to lawful authority, you are hereby commanded to appear before the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States, on Friday, December 19, 1969, at 10:30 o'clock a.m., at their committee room 2226, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., then and there to testify what you may know relative to the subject matters under consideration by said committee, pursuant to S. Res. 366 approved by the 81st Congress-2d, as amended and extended, and S. Res. 46 agreed to February 17, 1969, and bring with you any and all wire or tape recordings, photographs, photographic or motion picture film, correspondence or copies thereof, notebooks, diaries, address books or lists, telephone books or lists, membership rosters or lists, or any other documents or papers now in your custody or under your control, the property of Robert Williams or Mabel Williams, having to do with the following subjects or any of them:

1. Plans for revolutionary activity against the Government of the United States either in furtherance of a so-called "Republic of New Africa" or in any other connection;

2. The so-called "Republic of New Africa" or "New African Republic" and any officers, representatives, or agents thereof;

3. Financing of a proposed Negro republic within the present boundaries of the United States of America;

4. The activities of the revolutionary organization known as RAM or any member or members thereof as such.

Hereof fail not, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided.

To A. L. Tarabochia to deliver to U.S. Marshal, Detroit, Michigan to serve and return.

Given under my hand, by order of the committee, this 12th day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine.

JAMES O. EASTLAND, U.S.S.,
Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary
and the Subcommittee on Internal Security.

RETURN ON SERVICE OF WRIT

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Eastern District of Michigan, ss:

I hereby certify and return that I served the annexed Subpoena-Judiciary & Subcommittee on Internal Security on the therein-named Robert Williams by handing to and leaving a true and correct copy thereof with Bernard Fieger, Attorney and authorized to accept for Robert Williams personally at 3305 Cadillac Tower Bldg., at Detroit, Michigan in the said District at 3:30 p.m., on the 14th day of November, 1969.

ORVILLE H. TROTTER,
United States Marshal.
By FRED H. PARAMORE,
Deputy.

Marshal's fees_____
Mileage_____

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

To: Robert Franklin Williams, 18640 Justine Street, Detroit Mich., greeting:

Pursuant to lawful authority, you are hereby commanded to appear before the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States, on January 13, 1970, at 10:30 o'clock a.m., at their committee room 2226 New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., then and there to testify what you may know relative to the subject matters under consideration by said committee, pursuant to S. Res. 366 approved by the 81st Congress-2d, as amended and extended, and S. Res. 46 agreed to February 17, 1969.

Hereof fail not, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided.

To _____ to serve and return.

Given under my hand, by order of the committee, this 9th day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
U.S. Senator, Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary
and the Subcommittee on Internal Security.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1969.

CONRAD J. LYNN, Esquire,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. LYNN: Responsive to your request, made to our Chief Counsel, I enclose a photocopy of the returned subpoena issued by the Subcommittee to your client Robert F. Williams, calling for his appearance before the Subcommittee in Washington, D. C., on September 30.

This hearing has been postponed until at least November 18, 1969. Please consider this letter as formal notice of the postponement. If you find it necessary to ask a further postponement in order to complete the criminal proceedings in which Mr. Williams is now involved in Michigan, the Subcommittee will be disposed to grant your request.

Since you indicated to Counsel during your telephone conversation yesterday morning, that (1) in the event of a postponement of the hearing you would

like to see this evidenced by a new subpoena, and (2) such a subpoena should be sent to you in view of the fact that Mr. Williams is going to be in New York over the coming weekend, there is enclosed a subpoena in duplicate calling for Mr. Williams' appearance before the Internal Security Subcommittee on November 18, 1969, at 10:30 a.m. One copy of this subpoena is for Mr. Williams, the other for your files.

In favorable response to your request for return of notebooks, documents, and other papers, the property of Mr. Williams, obtained by the Committee under subpoena, I can tell you that all of this material will be returned to Mr. Williams, or to any person duly authorized by him to receive it, at the offices of the Subcommittee during business hours on Tuesday, September 30, or any weekday thereafter.

Sincerely,

THOMAS J. DODD,
Vice Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee

NEW YORK, N.Y., *September 26, 1969.*

J. G. SOURWINE, Esq.,
U.S. Senate,
Subcommittee on Internal Security,
New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SOURWINE: After speaking to you on the telephone, I called Mr. Williams in Detroit. He was extremely agitated because he is very concerned that the hearing take place as scheduled since he is under a cloud and subject to continuing suspicion because of your Committee's subpoena.

He insists that the original date of September 30th be adhered to and he will appear on time on September 30th for that purpose. He will expect to receive all the papers and other effects seized at that time also.

Sincerely,

CONRAD J. LYNN, *Attorney.*

NEW YORK, N.Y., *November 7, 1969.*

J. G. SOURWINE, Esq.,
U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on Internal Security,
New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SOURWINE: Mr. Robert Williams just telephoned me from Detroit. He is scheduled to go before the Governor's Commission on Extradition in Michigan on Monday, November 10, 1969. He is then scheduled to appear in the State Court for the conclusion of the Extradition proceeding on November 12, 1969.

If he is still free, he will be ready to come before the Committee upon receipt of his round-trip fare from Detroit on Friday, November 14, 1969.

Sincerely,

CONRAD J. LYNN, *Attorney.*

NOVEMBER 12, 1969.

CONRAD J. LYNN, Esquire,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. LYNN: Your letter of November 7th, mailed on that date in New York City, was delivered to me in the afternoon mail today. Maybe it was a victim of the mailcarriers' "slowdown strike".

Your client, Mr. Robert F. Williams, is being given a new subpoena calling for his appearance on December 9th, 1969. Since the new subpoena will supersede the subpoena now in force, as soon as it is served upon Mr. Williams, he will not be required to appear on November 18th, as presently scheduled.

The Subcommittee cannot give Mr. Williams a sum of money in advance, to pay his roundtrip fare to Washington; but his transportation at Committee expense will be raised for. Mr. Williams can make his own reservation, by whatever form of transportation he chooses; and when the Committee is advised with respect to his wishes in this regard, arrangement will be made with the airline or railroad concerned to provide Mr. Williams with a roundtrip ticket in advance of the time for boarding.

Since your letter makes no mention to the contrary, I will assume, until further notice, that your doubts about remaining as counsel for Mr. Williams have been resolved, and that you are continuing to represent him.

Sincerely,

J. G. SOURWINE.

DETROIT, MICH., *December 3, 1969.*

Re Robert Williams.
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY
OF THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE OF THE U.S. SENATE,
Capitol Building,
Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: In connection with the subpoena which was served on Mr. Williams requiring him to appear in Washington December 19th, this is to inform you that we are counsel for him in the State of Michigan contesting the extradition proceedings presently pending in that State ordering his extradition to North Carolina.

I am writing to ascertain whether his appearance in Washington will subject him to any arrest by the State of North Carolina or the Federal authorities pursuant to the outstanding charge against him.

We must request that the committee grant and guaranty his immunity from arrest to and from the hearing and while he is in the District of Columbia.

In addition, we wish to inform you that preliminary hearings on our extradition proceedings have been set for December 15th in the Circuit Court for the County of Wayne and therefore it is also essential that we know how long you propose to have him remain in Washington since we do not conceive that the hearings will be completed by the 19th of December.

Very truly yours,

BERNARD J. FIEGER.

DECEMBER 9, 1969.

BERNARD J. FIEGER, Esq.,
Detroit, Mich.

DEAR MR. FIEGER: This acknowledges your letter of December 3, 1969.

In view of your statement that preliminary hearings on extradiction proceedings against your client, Robert F. Williams, have been set for December 15th in the Circuit Court for the County of Wayne, Michigan, and that you do not conceive these hearings will be completed by December 19th, the date for the appearance of Mr. Williams before the Internal Security Subcommittee has been postponed from December 19th to January 13th, 1970. A new subpoena covering the January date is enclosed. Effective upon the transmittal of this subpoena to Mr. Williams, he is released from the subpoena calling for his appearance on December 19th, 1969.

With respect to your request that the Committee "grant and guarantee" Mr. Williams' "immunity from arrest to and from the hearing and while he is in the District of Columbia", you must know that the Committee has no power to grant anyone a general immunity from arrest.

The Committee has not conspired and will not conspire with any State or Federal authorities to bring about the arrest of Mr. Williams at a hearing of the Subcommittee or enroute to or from such a hearing. Mr. Williams has been called to appear in executive session. No announcement will be made by the Subcommittee respecting the date of his appearance; and unless you make this public at your end (as was done in the case of the first subpoena served on Mr. Williams earlier this year) no one but you and Mr. Williams and the Committee need know when he will be coming to Washington to testify. The Committee will make no announceemnt about his presence at the time he is here, nor will the Committee announce his departure after having testified.

Responding to your question as to how long it is expected Mr. Williams will have to remain in Washington, I can only say that my own estimate is the hearing probably will take three days. Of course, a great deal will depend upon the rate at which we are able to proceed, and the relative verbosity or conciseness of the witness.

Sincerely,

J. G. SOURWINE,
Chief Counsel, Internal Security Subcommittee.

DETROIT, MICH., *January 7, 1970.*

Attention: J. G. Sourwine, Chief Counsel, Internal Security Subcommittee.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing again on the subject of the subpoena issued to Robert Williams to appear before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee on January 13, 1970. Since our last correspondence, the proceedings in Michigan have continued with a Motion for Summary Judgment now before the Court seeking to terminate the Declaratory Judgment action. Mr. Williams continues on bond limiting his travelling to the state.

Since the Committee is unable to guarantee any sort of immunity to Mr. Williams, he is in a quandary as to the proper action to take. Obviously he desires to have all of the issues decided in Michigan where he desires to remain. His leaving the jurisdiction at this time without knowledge as to whether he will be in a position to return, and while the extradition proceedings are pending can injure him in this regard.

His attorneys are not able to give him any guarantees and the knowledge that he will be in Washington is already in the hands of the press. (We do not know how that occurred.)

Therefore in the absence of the guaranty that we require and with the understanding that he will make himself available to the Committee at the conclusion of the proceedings in Michigan, Mr. Williams respectfully requests the Subcommittee to adjourn his appearance without date. Of course, Mr. Williams is prepared to meet with the Subcommittee at its convenience in Michigan.

So that there is no misunderstanding, I repeat that Mr. Williams is not refusing to obey the subpoena issued. He is asserting the facts of the Bond requirements in Michigan and the pending proceedings in Michigan as reasons for his inability to appear in Washington, D.C. on January 13, 1970.

Very truly yours,

BERNARD J. FIEGER.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you bring any material with you for the committee in response to the demand made in the duces tecum subpena served on you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, sir; because the material that was requested, most of it is already here. Now, they requested some records from the Republic of New Africa, but I do not have those records because I am not affiliated with the Republic of New Africa anymore. I have resigned as the president, and in fact I was never active. I never had any records at all.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

Are you the same Robert Franklin Williams who served in the U.S. Marine Corps?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. With serial No. 1467676?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I suppose so. I can remember my Army serial number but I cannot remember the Marine Corps one.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

During what period did you serve in the Marine Corps?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was in 1954.

Mr. SOURWINE. For how long?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think it was about 16 months maybe, I am not sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you drafted or did you enlist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I enlisted.

Mr. SOURWINE. And what—in what unit did you serve and where?

Mr. WILLIAMS. At Camp Pendleton, Calif., I was in boot camp there, and I think it was the 2d Marine Division.

Mr. SOURWINE. And when did your service conclude, if you remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It concluded in 1955, that I was put out of the Marine Corps.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were put out?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you mean, "put out"?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the first thing was that they did not want me in there because when I went in, for aptitude, I was a volunteer, and I had been in the Army, and I went to school, college, for 3 years, and then my GI bill went out. So I went back in the Marine Corps so that I could get some GI bill.

When I went in there, my aptitude at testing showed that I was supposed to be in the U.S. Information Services, and they had promised that they would give whatever our aptitude if we volunteered for 4 years. So I volunteered for 4 years, and I was supposed to go to Quantico, Va., to be trained in information and psychological warfare, and so when—but I found out that they did not have any black Marines in U.S. Information Services. So they wanted to make me a supply clerk, and I sent a letter to—at that time to President Eisenhower, and it caused a big scandal in the Marine Corps.

So, as a result of this, they later put me out of the Marine Corps because I had complained against——

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you court-martialed?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You said you were put out. What kind of a discharge did they give you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. First they said it was an undesirable discharge, and they did not give me any court-martial or anything. Then when I got to my hometown later when I applied to the Veterans' Administion for my GI bill, they said I was not entitled to any GI bill because I had a dishonorable discharge. But under military regulations they could not give me a dishonorable discharge without a court-martial.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have discharge papers?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I had just a discharge that said "undesirable." But then when I applied, they said it was dishonorable discharge.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not have a medical discharge?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you still have your discharge paper?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think I have. I think I have.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you have it, would you be willing to let the committee have it long enough to make a copy?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. If this may be received, Mr. Chairman, may it go in the record at this time?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection.

(The document requested had not been furnished when publication went to press.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the same Robert Williams who served in the Army under serial 44158358?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were inducted into the Army of the United States on July 12, 1945, at Fort Bragg, N.C.?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You received basic training at the Army Service Forces Training Center, Camp Crowder, Mo.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You later served with Company C of the 56th Engineer Training Battalion?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And with Company F of the 70th Engineer Training Battalion at Fort Lewis, Wash.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were discharged on November 27, 1946, by reason of demobilization.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the full extent of your Army service?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never served outside the United States.

Mr. WILLIAMS. (Shakes head.)

Senator THURMOND. Speak out so she can hear you.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever serve in the Coast Guard?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does the number 031–1764434 mean anything to you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I can't remember that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the same Robert Franklin Williams who applied in March 1943 for an appointment as a member of the Police Department in Dearborn, Mich.?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was in Detroit.

Mr. SOURWINE. This was in Detroit, Mich.? You did apply for appointment as a member of the police department in Detroit?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE In March of 1943?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think it was 1943.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you get the job?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, the original indictment against you in North Carolina was overturned, was it not?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, sir, it was.

Mr. SOURWINE. On the grounds that Negroes had been excluded from the jury.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you reindicted on the same charge?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the officials said I was reindicted but then the clerk of court and the prosecutors said that the only indictment against me was in 1961. So there is some confusion.

Mr. SOURWINE. Has the sufficiency of the jury which allegedly reindicted you been litigated? Consult with your counsel if you want to about that one.

Mr. CRAIG. Perhaps, Mr. Sourwine, even on the record, rather than transmit the information through Mr. Williams, since he is——

Mr. SOURWINE. If I may—with the Chair's permission, I am interested in the facts as counsel stated. I am also interested in the witness' understanding of the facts.

Mr. CRAIG. Fine. In that event, I won't coach the witness on it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Could we get it both ways. I didn't want to trap him. That is why I said to talk to you.

Mr. CRAIG. All right. The existence of an indictment is not admitted by defendant and the validity of any proceedings, of course, is not admitted.

Now, if you want Mr. Williams' understanding——

Mr. SOURWINE. I judge his understanding now is the same as you have stated.

Mr. CRAIG. I am sure it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you presently under indictment on criminal charges of any kind?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not as I know of.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are there any Federal charges pending against you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are there any State charges pending against you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I don't know because—in fact, I am fighting extradition from Michigan now to North Carolina.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any objection if your counsel states for the record what the present status of this extradition matter is?

Mr. CRAIG. If the chairman please, the status of the extradition is that my firm is attacking the form, sufficiency, and validity of the extradition warrant issued in the *Williams* case and signed by the Governor of the State of Michigan. We are attacking that in a proceeding in the circuit court in Wayne County which has recently made a ruling in opposition to our contention that we may litigate this question under the form of declaratory judgment instead of using the form of habeas corpus.

That question has been certified to the court of appeals and we are in the process now of preparing our briefs on that appeal.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you, sir.

Mr. CRAIG. You are welcome.

Mr. SOURWINE. I might state for the record for your information, Mr. Williams, that this subcommittee is currently charged by resolution of the subcommittee with an investigation of what has been loosely called the New Left, but which is, in fact, an investigation of subversive, or violent, or subversive and violent organizations. We solicit your assistance in helping us to explain the connection, if any, between the various schisms, or the competing or cooperating organizations of the New Left. There will be a number of questions in this area. I don't ask it as a question. I give it as an example, but if there is anything you want to say in response to it, you may.

As an example, what is the connection, if any, between the revolutionary movement and the Progressive Labor Party? Or what is the connection between each of these and Students for a Democratic Society?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I really don't know because I have been out of the country. The only thing I know is that in Cuba I was attacked by the U.S. Communist Party and in China I was attacked by Progressive Labor, but that is all I know.

Mr. SOURWINE. We don't want you to testify to anything you don't know.

You have been described as a militant, as a black nationalist, and as a revolutionary leader. Would you take issue with any of those descriptions?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, that depends on what they call a revolutionary leader. I am for change and I am for militant action, for militancy, but I don't know what they mean by revolutionary leader because I didn't call myself that. I suppose somebody else called me that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you written that a black revolution in this country would have to have, and I quote, "a highly mobile underground guerrilla force," and this force would have to "be well versed in handling explosives and deadly accurate when employed as snipers"?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is right. I wrote that in context with what could happen in America and if it did happen, this was how it would be.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you saying that you have not urged the creation of a highly mobile underground guerrilla force and that you have not urged the creation of a force well versed in handling explosives and deadly accurate when employed as snipers?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. Well, I advocated a defense force and I advocated that black people unite and that they prepare to defend themselves and defend their homes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you in your writings attacked the U.S.S.R. and the policies of the U.S.S.R.?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, sir. Yes, I have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever attacked the policies of the People's Republic of China, Red China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not in publications, but I have differed with them in person.

Mr. SOURWINE. In what publications and when in your writings did you attack the U.S.S.R. and its policies?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, actually, I attacked them a number of times. I don't remember the exact dates.

Mr. SOURWINE. Which policies of the U.S.S.R. have you attacked?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I have attacked their racist attitude and I also attacked the U.S.S.R. for their—what they had done to China as far as overcharging the Chinese and withdrawing aid, and that they had charged the Chinese three times the cost that West Germany had charged them for machinery, and that they did have racial discrimination in the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union had been opposed to black nationalism.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you make these criticisms while you were in Cuba or while you were in Red China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I made some in Cuba and I made some in China.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you familiar with the statement that "capitalism deprives all of self-determination"?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That it deprives——

Mr. SOURWINE. This is supposed to be a statement made by Huey Newton. "Capitalism deprives all of self-determination. Only in the context of socialism can man practice the self-determination necessary to provide for their freedom."

If you are not——

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't——

Mr. SOURWINE. If you are not familiar with it, there is nothing we can ask you about it. If you were familiar with it, I was hoping you could explain it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the author of a book entitled "Negroes With Guns"?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where was this book published?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Published in New York by Marzani & Munsell.

Mr. SOURWINE. M-a-r-z-a-n-i and M-u-n-s-e-l-l. Carl Marzani?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was it published?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think in 1963. 1962 or 1963.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it published anywhere else except in this country?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was published in France.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who published it there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Published—the name is Maspero. I am not familiar with him.*

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't know how to spell it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. And when was it published in France?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think it was in 1966, I believe.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was this under contract with you or under contract with Marzani & Munsell?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Marzani.

Mr. SOURWINE. They had the world rights from you, then?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they had the rights. I was out of the country. So they didn't bother about it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know approximately how many copies of this book of yours have been sold?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I can't find out.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have the figures either for the book as published in English in this country or for the French sales?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you received royalties from Marzani & Munsell?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. Not a penny.

Mr. SOURWINE. None at all?

Mr. WILLIAMS. None at all.

Mr. SOURWINE. Not a nickel?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not a nickel.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you sought to secure payment from them?

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*Francois MASPERO editions, Place Paul Painleve, Paris 5, France, publisher of Williams' French edition of "Negroes With Guns" is also the publisher and distributor of "Tricontinental" the French edition of the theoretical organ of the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAL).

Williams, along with Rick Rhoads was among the invited guests at the Tricontinental conference which took place in Havana in January of 1966.

Information from a Cuban defector who attended that conference indicated that Williams was treated with great deference contrary to the assertions of the Henry brothers who, in a letter to Fidel Castro, remonstrated that Williams and they as well had not received the treatment they thought they deserved at the hands of the Cubans.

It was Francois Maspero who acted as go-between Fidel Castro and Regis Debray and was also instrumental in the selection of the intellectuals who attended the Havana Cultural Congress in January 1968.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. But they wanted to pay me $500 since I have been back and I know that they owe more than that. So we can't reach an agreement on it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did have a contract with them?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it substantially a standard publication contract?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I don't think it was a standard contract but it offered—in fact, I was supposed to have gotten 8 cents per copy.

Mr. SOURWINE. Eight cents per copy. Royalty?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you received nothing on any copies?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You know there have been some copies sold?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it printed in paperback?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In paperback and hardback.

Mr. SOURWINE. It has been stated that your book "Negroes With Guns" has become the official guerrilla manual of several black extremist groups. Do you know whether this is true?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know whether that is true or not because I don't really—there is nothing in there that would help a guerrilla unless it was just to inspire him, because in the ghettos now they have classes, what they call black studies and anything that is on the black struggle that they are using.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know of any groups that use this——

Senator THURMOND. Could I ask a question right there?

Mr. SOURWINE. Of course, Mr. Chairman.

Senator THURMOND. You say they have classes. Who sponsors these classes?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, actually, the people organized in the communities, the different organizations, local groups, and they collect money, sometimes even church groups, and it is studies dealing with black people. They collect literature, compile it, and anything written by black authors or about black people, they use this to study and teach from.

Senator THURMOND. This is paid for by contributions, voluntary contributions, and by church groups?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Senator THURMOND. Any funds coming from any particular organization?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they have got a number of organizations. I don't know all of the organizations. Even some places where—that they may have support from Government agencies.

Senator THURMOND. Our Government?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Senator THURMOND. Any foreign government support?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know of any.

Senator THURMOND. Do you know what agencies of our Government are supporting such a movement?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, sir; but only with the exception of when they have some agencies dealing with education, that they have black studies and war on poverty centers and that they just study black

literature in general, not necessarily any special thing. But anything that will inspire racial pride in the people.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know of any groups that study your book "Negroes With Guns" as a guerrilla manual?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know, but I know it was recommended to the Revolutionary Action Movement.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is RAM?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. And it was recommended for the Republic of New Africa, but not only that. The whole black nationalists, all of the black nationalists recommended this book to be read.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is this correct?

Mr. WILLIAMS. And black people in general.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you published your autobiography?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you written an autobiography?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I am supposed to be working on it now.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you made arrangements for the writing of it? That is, are you under contract to write or produce an autobiography?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am supposed to be under contract to Bantam Books to write——

Mr. SOURWINE. What are the details? When are you to produce it? When is it to be printed?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, It was supposed to have been published last spring but I disagreed with some of the arrangements of the publisher, so it will have to be done over again.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is your contract made directly between you and Bantam Books?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. Bantam Books and another man who had met me in Africa, a photographer who had done some tape and worked with me on it, named "Cohen."

Mr. SOURWINE. I show you a photocopy of what purports to be an agreement between Robert F. Williams and Robert C. Cohen. I will ask you if that is the agreement that you were referring to.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, but this agreement, we have already—I have already refused, rejected this agreement.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have repudiated this agreement?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, because the first thing, that was illegal, it was in Tanzania. It must come before a High Commissioner before it can be legal, and the next thing was the only reason I agreed to let this man do the book was so that the book would come out at the time I was returning to the United States, and he didn't get it out in time, so now I have agreed to do it myself.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And not to allow him to do it.

Mr. SOURWINE. May this exhibit, which is committee counsel's exhibit No. 13, go in the record at this point, Mr. Chairman? It is the contract just identified by the witness.

Senator THURMOND. Without objections, it will be admitted.

(The document marked "Exhibit 13" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 13

TANZANIA, *July 21, 1968.*

To whom it may concern:

This is to constitute an agreement between Robert Franklin Williams and Robert Carl Cohen to share fully and equally in all royalties and proceeds resulting from the sale of Robert Franklin William's autobiography, written in collaboration with Robert Carl Cohen. It is understood that Robert Carl Cohen will be empowered to represent Mr. William's rights, as well as his own, in negotiating contracts for the publication of said autobiography. It is also understood that whatever contracts are ultimately accepted by Mr. Cohen will contain stipulations guaranteeing Mr. Williams the right to revise the manuscript before publication, and to abrogate the contract should the fail to be published within 18 months of the manuscript's acceptance by the publisher.

Mr. Cohen agrees to utilize his best efforts in synopsizing and organizing Mr. William's recorded commentary, contained in some 46 hours of magnetic tape material resulting from Mr. Cohen's* interviewing Mr. Williams in Dar Es Salaam, Republic of Tanzania, July 5th through 20th, 1968. Mr. Cohen agrees to make available to Mr. William's the manuscript which he will write from said taped material, so that Mr. William's may add to it, delete, from it, or alter it in any way he sees fit, so that the final work may be the one and only fully authorized autobiography of Mr. Williams. Mr. Cohen also agrees to use his best efforts to negotiate the most favorable contract possible for the authors in the publication of this autobiography.

Mr. Williams agrees to authorize no one other than Mr. Cohen to represent him in the sale for publication of his autobiography. He also agrees to refrain from writing himself, or authorizing anyone else to write, any other such autobiography, or biograph, with the exception of short biographical sketches of 5000 words or less for newspaper or magazine articles, for a period of seven years from this date.

It is understood that Mr. Williams will provide an address to which the manuscript will be sent for his revisions prior to publication, and to which his share of any royalties may also be sent by the publisher.

Signed and agreed to:

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS.
ROBERT C. COHEN.

Mr. SOURWINE. I also show you a power of attorney purported to have been signed by you. This is, again, a photocopy with respect to the book, "Negroes With Guns." Do you recognize that as your signature?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you repudiated this agreement also? This power of attorney?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, yes. Now, because I have broken with him completely——

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

May this also go into the record, Mr. Chairman, as identified? It is committee counsel's Exhibit No. 14.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, it will be admitted.

(The document "marked Exhibit 14" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 14

REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA, *July 28, 1968.*

Power of attorney.

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to authorize Mr. Robert Carl Cohen, or his designee, to represent me in all matters concerning my published book Negroes with Guns. Mr. Cohen is given the right to bring whatever action he deems necessary to either enforce the terms of my contract for publication of said book with Marzani & Munsell, Publishers, or

to abrogate said contract and arrange for publication of said book by another publisher or publishers of his choice.

Mr. Cohen shall have this power of attorney for a period of one year from this date, to be automatically removable at 12 month periods until I inform him in writing to the contrary. Mr. Cohen shall be empowered to collect whatever royalties are due me from the publishers, and shall use his best efforts to negotiate for whatever new sales of said book he is able to acquire. It is understood that Mr. Cohen will be entitled to ten percent (10%) or whatever advances, fees or royalties are payable to me as a result of his efforts.

ROBERT FRANKLIN WILLIAMS.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, yourself, make the agreement with Marzani & Munsell or did this man Cohen make the agreement?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. That was another man back in, I think, 1962, named "Marc Shaeffer." He is not in the country.

Mr. SOURWINE. How does he spell that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. M-a-r-c, and I think it is S-h-a-e-f-f-e-r.

Mr. SOURWINE. He is not in the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where is he now?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He works for NBC News and I think he is in Jordan.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. Do you know Carl Marzani of the firm of Marzani & Munsell?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. I met him since I have been back. I don't know the firm.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never met Marzani before?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Before you had a contract with his firm?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Never before.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I heard later that he once was a Communist but he left the party. At least that is what he said.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what he says?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. He has told you this?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How recently?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, it was since I have been back. It was in, I think, October or November. October.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of 1969?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you see him, New York?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have visited New York, then, since you have been back? After you reached Detroit?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Once I visited New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the only time you have left Michigan since you have been back?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What arrangements, if any, have been made for the printing of the book "Negroes With Guns" outside the United States other than the printing in France that you spoke of.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I haven't made any arrangements. I don't know whether Marzani may have made some.

Mr. SOURWINE. If there have been, you mean, you are not advised of them?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will show you a photocopy of a letter dated January 28, 1969, to you from a person signing Maria Arena Regis, dealing with possible publication of an Edizioni Oriente in Milano. That is, publication of an Italian language edition. Are you familiar with that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, but it didn't come out as far as I know. She said she had some trouble, some problem in business, had some trouble with the business and her husband was sick and they have just dropped this.

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't mean to wrangle with you at all, and this is not in any sense a criticism or remonstrance, but I don't want to catch you off guard. I don't want the record to speak untruly. I don't know what it says now but I intended to ask you if you knew of any negotiations for the publication elsewhere and if that is what I did ask you, we got confused, because you said no. So, please, any time you are not sure you understand what I am asking you, make me ask it again. I might misspeak myself sometimes.

If it sounds to you like I am not asking what you think I intend to ask, let's get the record clear just what the question is.

May this go in the record, Mr. Chairman? It is committee counsel's exhibit 15, just identified.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

(The document marked "Exhibit 15" follows:)

EXHIBIT NO. 15

MILANO, *January 28, 1968.*

Mr. ROBERT F. WILLIAMS,
Tai Chi Chang 1,
Peking.

DEAR MR. WILLIAMS: Following the exchange of letters we had on the subject of translating and publishing in Italy your book "Negroes With Guns", we have been suggested by Mr. Gibson to inform you about the agreements we have reached with on your behalf. The basic lines of the agreement reads as follows:

1. Edizioni Oriente are granted the exclusive copyright in Italian language for all countries for the translation and publication of the book "Negroes With Guns" by Robert F. Williams.

2. Edizioni Oriente shall anticipate all expenses for translation, printing and distribution of the book in Italy, which shall be covered through the first sales returns in Italy and abroad.

3. Once the expenses shall be covered, Edizioni Oriente shall guarantee 50% of further sales return, net of distribution costs, to Mr. Williams.

4. Edizioni Oriente agree to change the title of the book into the new one "America Is the Black Man's Battleground", to add Chairman Mao statement at the beginning and a new closing chapter, to correct the text whenever necessary, to print in backcover Mr. R. F. Williams features by Hsinhua.

5. Premier printing shall take place in June 1968 in connection with Mr. Williams come back to the States.

Mr. Gibson has taken engagement to let us have the text of the closing chapter and of all corrections by the middle of February. That, if done, could be very helpful for a good translation and accurate proofreading, and we shall be gratefull to the kindness of Mr. Gibson.

Let us, Mr. Williams, express our hearty thanks for the honour you are granting us with the publication of your book. You can be sure we shall do our utmost

to assure to your book the largest audience and consense in our country and whenever italian speaking peoples work.

Looking forward for your hint of acknowledgment of this letter, we remain,

Yours faithfully,

MARIA ARENA REGIS.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have anything to do with negotiating in June 1968 with Grove Press concerning the publication of a book?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I was supposed to but we never signed any agreement and it was supposed to be a revised edition of this "Negroes With Guns," and I sent them some new material but I never heard from them after that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Whom did you negotiate with on behalf of Grove Press?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, actually, I sent the copy back by Richard Henry. He met me in Africa. And I sent the new material, additional material for the book, by him but I never heard anything after that from the publisher about it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who runs Grove Press?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any plans to run for public office?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. There has been a report that you had a plan to run for the Office of the President of the United States. I take it that is untrue.

Mr. WILLIAMS. They had asked me to do this, to run from exile.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is the "they?"

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they said that this Peace and Freedom Party would—sometimes somebody suggested that I should run.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did that come to you, in a letter?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It came in a letter.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know from whom?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the first—I was notified by a man at that time who was serving as my lawyer, that they had suggested my name.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. This was Conrad Lynn.

Mr. SOURWINE. And did you accept this suggestion or this nomination, or did you agree that you would let them use your name?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I wanted to know more about it because I didn't think it was a good idea.

Mr. SOURWINE. So you have never agreed to run for President of the United States.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, turning to another subject, have you participated in the distribution in the United States of propaganda films about China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. No. The only time was that some things that I brought back that people asked for three or four pieces, but never anything that had to do with Chinese propaganda.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say some things that you brought back. What do you mean? Do you mean films?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the film—I brought a film into the country that I was given a license on, import license, and it was turned over to WBTV Station in Charlotte, N.C. In fact, I brought two films from China that I turned over to them.

Mr. SOURWINE. What were the names of the two films, if they were titled?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, one was—I don't remember the title but it had to do with the fighting on the Russian-Chinese border.

Mr. SOURWINE. And what was the title of the other one?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The other one was the Ninth Party Congress, had to do with the Chinese—it was a film, documentary, made inside the Communist Party Congress.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were these films that you had yourself taken?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. They were taken by the Chinese.

Mr. SOURWINE. They were both taken by Chinese, official Chinese Government photographers?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you say they were not propaganda films?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They were documentaries. They may have been propaganda but this was the type of information they didn't have in this country and this——

Mr. SOURWINE. You know, the word "propaganda" by itself is not evil at all. Whenever you try to make another man believe something, that is propaganda. These were films which showed the Communist Chinese in a good light, were they not?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I suppose so. I know that they probably wouldn't have let me have them if they hadn't.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of course not. They wouldn't have taken them and put them together. The Government wouldn't have hired a photographer or groups of photographers to put them together if they didn't make the government appear in a good light; right?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. You brought these films into the United States. You had an import license to bring them in. In connection with obtaining that license, did you disclose the authorship of the films?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, yes, because I don't know who exactly the individual, but I had applied, I applied through the Embassy in Tanzania to the American——

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't state they were films which you had taken?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, no, no. I told them they were Chinese films.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where have these films been distributed?

Mr. WILLIAMS. On CBS, not long ago. I think about two months ago, they——

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you paid by CBS for the use of the films?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I was paid by WBTV in Charlotte, N.C.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. Where else were the films distributed, if you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think they are going to sell part of them to Britain. Some television network in Britain.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you, yourself, offered the films or either of them to anyone except this Charlotte TV station?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. No. Because I had sent—actually, I sent the film in before I came into the country, to Charlotte.

Mr. SOURWINE. To whom did you send it, if you remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I sent it to Clyde McLean, who is an official of WBTV in Charlotte.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that M-c-C-l-e-a-n, or M-c-L-e-a-n?
Mr. WILLIAMS. M-c, I think it's L-a-i-n.
Mr. SOURWINE. L-a-i-n. Had you known him earlier?
(Editor's Note: A subsequent check determined that the correct spelling of the name above is McLean.)
Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I didn't know him at all.
Mr. SOURWINE. How did you happen to send the films to him?
Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the first thing is, I knew him as an announcer before I left and a newsman for WBTV.
Mr. SOURWINE. You mean, you knew him personally?
Mr. WILLIAMS. No. Just had heard him on the radio, but I had never met him. And the idea was that they had come to Cuba to make a film called "Robert Williams in Cuba," a documentary.
Mr. SOURWINE. Who is "they"?
Mr. WILLIAMS. Clyde McLean and a television crew from WBTV in Charlotte.
Mr. SOURWINE. I see. Is that a network television operation?
Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; it is. It is affiliated with CBS.
Mr. SOURWINE. Affiliated with CBS.
Mr. WILLIAMS. But it is an independent station.
Mr. SOURWINE. Not an NET station.
Mr WILLIAMS. No.
Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Go ahead.
Mr. WILLIAMS. They came to Cuba to make a film called "Robert Williams in Cuba" and this is where I knew him from.
Mr. SOURWINE. Had they arranged this with you before they came?
Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, yes. They called me on the telephone in Havana and said they would like to make a documentary in Cuba if they could get into the country.
Mr. SOURWINE. I see. And did they make it?
Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, yes. They made it.
Mr. SOURWINE. You helped them get into the country?
Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.
Mr. SOURWINE. Good. Did you have to see Mr. Castro for that?
Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I almost had to see him because these were southern television men and they thought that by them being southern, they would naturally be reactionary and some people were opposed.
Mr. SOURWINE. Is the Cuban Government prejudiced against southerners?
Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, no, not as such, but some people are.
Mr. SOURWINE. I see. Now, that film that was taken by McLean and his crew in Cuba, what was the year?
Mr. WILLIAMS. It was, I think, early in 1966, just before I left.
Mr. SOURWINE. The film was distributed where?
Mr. WILLIAMS. It was shown on WBTV in Charlotte.
Mr. SOURWINE. And nowhere else as far as you know?
Mr. WILLIAMS. As far as I know, because it was their film.
Mr. SOURWINE. Were you given any copies of that film?
Mr. WILLIAMS. No.
Mr. SOURWINE. You never had any to give away or send anywhere?
Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I have never even seen it.
Mr. SOURWINE. You have never seen it? You don't know whether it is good or not. Did you get paid for it?
Mr. WILLIAMS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then the only films that you have participated in the distribution of were the two films that you sent into the United States from China.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. Plus, I sent one before then called, "Robert Williams in China," which was a documentary, a travel documentary.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who took that film?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, that was sent to Canada and from Canada it was sent to ABC.

Mr. SOURWINE. I'm sorry. You misunderstood me. I said, "took," and you understood me to mean who accepted it. I mean who took the pictures?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, the Chinese. The Chinese.

Mr. SOURWINE. Official Government photographers?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; but they took the pictures that I wanted them to take in traveling across China. The Chinese Government put them at my disposal and they said wherever I wanted to stop and whatever I wanted to take, whatever pictures, that they would be available.

Mr. SOURWINE. You traveled across China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. With these photographers?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Photographic crew?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And they took the pictures that you asked them to take?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And no others?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No others.

Mr. SOURWINE. They didn't take any pictures on their own?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't make any suggestions to you about what would make good pictures?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. The funniest cameramen I ever heard of.

Mr. WILLIAMS. They don't allow them to interfere. Newspapermen are not supposed to interfere even if they want a specific picture of you. They have to work at your convenience.

Mr. SOURWINE. The cameraman can't make suggestions about background or action or anything?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not a documentary.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If it is any other kind of picture, he can, but on a documentary——

Mr. SOURWINE. This was a documentary and they were simply to record what you did?

Mr. WILLIAMS. And what I wanted.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you told them to record it and at no other time; they had to ask your permission before they could take any pictures?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. So that that particular picture, really you were the director of it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. Actually, what happened, it was a concession made to me by the Chinese Government because I had asked them to allow some Americans, American photographers, in fact, one American had written to me and I think he was working for one of the major magazines and he said he would like to come and do a film of me in China, and so the Chinese said, well, because of their relations with the U.S. Government, that they didn't want a person who was recognized by the U.S. Government sent there under Government auspices to film in China.

So they said if I really wanted the film made and if the people wanted it in this country, that they could furnish me with the photographers and whatever I wanted to film they would film for me.

Mr. SOURWINE. So they did.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. So, really, you were the director of that film?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I suppose you might also say, also you wrote the script on it since you decided where you were going to go and what portions of your activities they would take pictures of.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The things that I thought I saw that might have been interesting.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did it turn out to be a pretty good movie?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, a lot of people that have seen it like it. In fact, I gave one copy to the University of North Carolina.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have seen that film yourself?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are satisfied with it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is what you wanted to portray?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where else did you give it besides the University of North Carolina?

Mr. WILLIAMS. University of North Carolina, Howard University, and I think one at Vanderbilt.

Mr. SOURWINE. These copies were provided to you by the Chinese?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And can you get other copies of it if you want them?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they don't have any more.

Mr. SOURWINE. They didn't keep a master?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. They have all been exhausted. In fact, I asked for one before I left and they didn't have it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any copies of that film in your possession?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long did it take you to make that film?

Mr. WILLIAMS. We went on a trip for about two—we were gone for about 2 weeks all over China, to the interior, places that foreigners didn't ordinarily go in China.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you travel?

Mr. WILLIAMS. By airplane, train, Jeep, car.

Mr. SOURWINE. Private airplane or government airplane?

Mr. WILLIAMS. On the regular air line, but later we had also the regular train but we also traveled on Jeep, special Jeep. Some places we went that we had to go by Jeep.

Mr. SOURWINE. Two weeks, you say.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. No longer?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No longer. Just for the film.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you got all over China in 2 weeks, you really covered a lot of ground.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. We were going pretty fast.

Mr. SOURWINE. What places did you cover? What cities did you visit?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, we went to places like the autonomous region, Korea, autonomous region all through Mongolia and all through the industrial communities, like Shanghai, all the way through to Canton, into the interior. We covered most of China.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you get into Mongolia?

Mr. WILLIAMS. We went through by train.

Mr. SOURWINE. From where?

Mr. WILLIAMS. From, I think it was Shanghai.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long did it take to get there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I don't exactly remember because we didn't go—what we would do, we would ride and go to certain places and then we would stop, maybe, with a stop over night and then we would leave the next morning.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, even with your stopovers, I am not trying to pin you down, but that whole trip from Shanghai into Mongolia, how long did it take? Two days? Three days? Longer?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was probably about, I think about, maybe 3 days it might have been.

Mr. SOURWINE. And where did you go from Mongolia? And you come back to Shanghai?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; first we went into some places in the interior and to Canton.

Mr. SOURWINE. From Mongolia?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, but we went cross the country. We were constantly moving.

Mr. SOURWINE. By train?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; train.

Mr. SOURWINE. From Mongolia to Canton?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And from Canton, where did you go?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, from Canton we went back to Peking.

Mr. SOURWINE. By train?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; by plane.

Mr. SOURWINE. By plane from Canton to Peking.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then where did you go from Peking?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, we stayed in Peking then after we finished the filming.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. You had already been to Korea.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was in the autonomous region. We had already been around through Korea, around and across the country.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you go to Korea?

Mr. WILLIAMS. What they call an autonomous region of Korea. Korean nationality. They have got 56 different nationalities in China.

Mr. SOURWINE. In China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; they have got what they call autonomous regions.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where is the autonomous region of Korea in China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Near the Korean border. They call it some type of Hung Jo. They call it something similar to Hung Jo.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you go down there from Peking?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I went around through the country, went there from Peking, but we made many stops on the way and stopped overnight.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. How long did it take on your roundabout way from Peking to this autonomous territory of Korea?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I suppose we got there maybe after we had started, been out for I think about 8 or 7 days.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you go from the autonomous territory of Korea?

Mr. WILLIAMS. We went across into—across the country down to Canton but we left—we went from the extreme cold to the warm.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. You went from the Korean autonomous territory to Canton, how? By train? By automobile? By Jeep?

Mr. WILLIAMS. We left at first in an automobile. Later we changed to a train because we stopped over in some small place, villages, places that I don't even remember the names.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. Then, from Canton, where did you go?

Mr. WILLIAMS. From Canton, we went across country back to Peking.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see, and then from Peking?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is where we lived. That was my home.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you already have got one trip. You went from Peking to Mongolia.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, yes. You see the reason——

Mr. SOURWINE. Then you went from Mongolia to Canton.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; but we were going around the country and through these places and stopping in different places and we came back to Peking because this was the place of origin that we were coming from.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. You only came back to Peking once. You left it and made all this big circle and came back to Peking once.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. So you left Peking first and went down to—or is it up to the autonomous territory of Korea?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, some people call it up, but to me it was across the country.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. You went across the country for an 8-day trip and hit a lot of other places.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. On your way from Peking to the autonomous territory of Korea. Then you went from there to Canton.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then from Canton you went back to Peking.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. From Peking, you went to Mongolia?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, no. We went to Mongolia just before we went into Canton. When we came through Mongolia, when we left from

the autonomous region, we went around the country and we came into Mongolia and——

Mr. SOURWINE. I thought you had said you went from Peking to Mongolia by railroad.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, one place we may have. I don't know because if I had a map I could show it to you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, I wasn't there. I have to ask you because that is all I can find out about it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. But that is why I say that, because it is very difficult to remember that. Especially in China, with so many small places and the different places because I have been all over the country and it is a very big country, bigger than the——

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, it is a very big country.

All right. Were you traveling at the expense of the Chinese Government when you made this trip?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did the Government have anybody with you to smooth your way?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well——

Mr. SOURWINE. To pay for things and make reservations?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. They had an interpreter and the interpreter with me——

Mr. SOURWINE. You learned to speak some Chinese, didn't you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You learned to speak Spanish, I understand, while you were in Cuba.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Just a little, not much.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you speak any other language besides English?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. None of the African languages?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. In 1966, did you receive from Richard B. Henry 100 records to be used for broadcasting to GI's in Vietnam?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. The records were returned.

Mr. SOURWINE. Returned to whom, from whom?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They were returned to him, I understand. At least he told me that he received them back, I didn't——

Mr. SOURWINE. You never got any?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. Not from him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he send you 100 records and then somehow they didn't reach you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He said that they were sent back to him with a note in the records that the Chinese Government, because of the cultural revolution, they were not admitting jazz into the country.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember that Mr. Henry wrote you that he had a new avenue of communications through the Egyptian Embassy via the Red Chinese Embassy in Ottawa to Cairo?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't remember that.

Senator THURMOND. We will take a recess now.

(Whereupon, there was a short recess.)

Senator THURMOND. All right. We will proceed. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. SOURWINE. Just before the recess I was asking you questions about 100 records which we had understood were started on their way to you by Richard B. Henry to be placed for broadcasting to G.I.'s in Vietnam. May I ask you, what do you know about these records? Maybe we can clear the record up that way.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The only thing I know is that Henry told me that he had tried to send me some records, but they had come back through the post office and the Chinese had inserted a note in the records that at this time they were not accepting jazz into China and they had been returned. But these records were not meant for broadcast to the troops. They were being sent to me as a gift because I kept American records also for my own use.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember that Henry wrote you that he had a new avenue of communications through the Egyptian Embassy in Ottawa, Canada, to Cairo, and then by the Red Chinese Embassy in Cairo?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I don't remember that.

Mr. SOURWINE. OK. Let me go back to some of the responses that you made to the chairman at the beginning. You said you had asked the Chinese for asylum in China. To whom did you address that request and how did you make it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I made it through the Chinese Embassy in Havana.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was this a written request?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. It was a vocal request because I had been to China twice before, had been invited there as a guest on National Day, and I just told them that I was having difficulty.

Mr. SOURWINE. You just went to the Chinese Embassy?

Mr. WILLIAMS. And asked them to forward my request to Peking, that I was having difficulty in Havana and that I didn't want to stay there, wouldn't be able to stay there, and that I would like to go to China, at least for them to help me to leave Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you used the phrase, "The Cuban Government kept me, maintained me, and gave me an allowance." You remember you talked about the amount. It was first 300 and then 400 pesos. How did you receive that allowance? Was it given to you in cash, and by whom?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was given to me by cash, in cash. In fact, at first it was given to me by an agency called the EKAP and that is the International Institution of Friends of the People of the World, sometimes association. Then later I got the money from the county. The 400 came from——

Mr. SOURWINE. From the Cuban Communist Party?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Cuban Communist Party headquarters.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did that come to you by courier, by messenger, by mail?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I had to go get it each month.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you go, to party headquarters?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, actually it was the party headquarters—party headquarters was also the government headquarters.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. In the main office of the government.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you used the phrase "The woman who was responsible for taking care of my affairs." Who was that? Was it by any chance Celia Sanchez?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. It was a woman—also she wasn't responsible, but I did have access to see her, but it was a woman called Yolanda Perez who was the——

Mr. SOURWINE. Yolanda Perez?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. The head of EKAP, one of the officials, and also was a party member.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was before you were getting the money directly from the party.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you used the phrase, "I was for the support of the Constitution." You were talking about what you had written in your publications?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you find for the record an example or perhaps two examples of material that you wrote which refers to supporting the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is not a challenge. I only suggest it in your own interest, that it might be helpful if you offer that for the record.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, yes. In fact, in most of the publications that I wrote it was complaints against the fact that the Constitution was not enforced and even when I wrote one—I wrote an essay on the potential of a minority revolution, and in this potential of a minority revolution I went into some of the suffering of our people and I also went into the fact that the Constitution of the United States was being violated and unless the Constitution was respected, and then I started to explain what could happen.

There was a possibility of uprising, of revolution, and I said for the benefit of those arrogant people who feel secure in their arrogance, that this is the way a minority revolution could bring about the destruction of the United States. And I set out to explain it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, if you can find in your writings the piece you are now referring to, or any other piece which you feel was directed toward supporting the Constitution of the United States, would you offer it for the record when you are in the process of correcting your testimony?

May that, if provided, go in the record at this point, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection.

(The document requested had not been received when publication went to press.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you spoke of your films—your publication coming to the United States directly from China through the mails.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Addressed to whom?

Mr. WILLIAMS. To book stores, to university campuses.

Mr. SOURWINE. Addressed to all the distribution centers?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. All over the country.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you address it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then you would, what—put it in mail bags or packages?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, actually, I put it in packages at my house.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then it was picked up there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Picked up.

Mr. SOURWINE. And was mailed?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. So any postage was paid by the government?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Right. Then you say you paid the postage from Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many of these packages did you usually ship? Twenty? Thirty?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In the beginning, in Cuba, I first started to put out 2,000 copies, and then before I left Cuba I was putting out about, I think, 15,000 or 16,000 copies. Then, when I went to China, I started putting out 30,000 and the last one was 40,000 copies.

Mr. SOURWINE. They were printed, of course, in China.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were they printed at government expense?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, yes. Actually, the workers had volunteered—the workers who worked in the print shop volunteered to do this. Also they had—they knew I had a publication in the United States and they said that they wanted to support us, the black people in America, and they thought——

Mr. SOURWINE. This was the Chinese printers?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Printers, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you didn't pay anything for the use of the print shop, the ink, the paper.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. The type, and so forth?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. From Cuba, when you were sending 2,000 copies, what did the postage amount to, do you remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, at different times, because it depended on how long the newsletter was and how thick the paper was—we didn't get the same type of paper all the time and we didn't have the same length, but I don't know. I might could get some of the old deals, but I don't know, don't remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't remember what you had to pay for postage?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what the postage is on one paper from Cuba to the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, we sent them, I think it was second class, second or third class, and I think it was about 6 cents or something like that, just a few pennies because it was 14 cents for an air mail first class. But we sent it, I think, third class, or something.

Mr. SOURWINE. Just a few pennies per copy.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Maybe two or three.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you had 2,000 and it was only 2 cents, that would cost you $40.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that about what it cost?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Between that and sometimes it cost me as much as $70.

Mr. SOURWINE. You put it out how often?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, in the beginning I was putting it out every month, but then after that I just started getting it out at my convenience, whenever I could get it out.

Mr. SOURWINE. It must have been quite a drain when you were getting 300 pesos and you were putting out 16,000 copies.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, but I didn't have to pay for any of my expenses, didn't have to pay for electric lights, didn't have to pay for gas, didn't have to pay for gasoline for my car, didn't have to pay for the car.

Mr. SOURWINE. But 16,000 at 2 cents each is $320—320 pesos but that is 20 pesos more than you were getting.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, but sometimes it was lighter, plus I used to get money from Bohemia magazine. I wrote a series of articles and they helped me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are the mails open and free between Cuba and the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I wouldn't say they are open because sometimes I used to receive letters that might be 6 months old and sometimes they came in a matter of a few days. Sometimes the letters would have been opened. I don't know who opened them and what side had opened them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are the mails open and free between Red China and the United States as far as you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, yes. In fact, the letters came in and out of China better than they did in and out of Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do they go from Red China to get into the stream in the non-Communist world? Do they go through Hong Kong, or what?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Through Hong Kong.

Mr. SOURWINE. Through Hong Kong. Do you remember making an offer to place the film of your Chinese visit in the Howard University library?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. I placed it there.

Mr. SOURWINE. You told us that was one of several places where you put it. Another was the University of North Carolina.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, and I think they have got a copy also at Vanderbilt.

Mr. SOURWINE. At Vanderbilt University?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Teacher's College there. I don't remember what they call it.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you offered your film to Howard University, was it offered just to the university by name or was there some person there to whom you sent it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. Only to the library. I offered it to the library.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know the person to whom you addressed it before you sent it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, sir, I didn't know the person. I didn't even know who the librarian was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Apparently the librarian is Joseph H. Reason. I show you a letter addressed to you on the stationery of Howard Uni-

versity dated December 20, 1967, and ask if that is a letter you received.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. This is the letter I received.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may this go in the record at this point? It is counsel's exhibit 8.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection.

(The document marked "Exhibit No. 8" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 8

HOWARD UNIVERSITY,
Washington, D.C., December 20, 1967.

Mr. ROBERT WILLIAMS,
1 Tai Chi Chang,
Peking, China.

DEAR MR. WILLIAMS: We have received the documentary film "Robert Williams in China." Many thanks to you for presenting this film to our library.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH H. REASON,
Director of University Libraries.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, how did you happen to send a copy of your documentary film on your visit to China to the University of North Carolina Library?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Because they have what they call a North Carolina Collection and before I left North Carolina, when I lived there, I had a newsletter and I had also contributed to magazines, and in this North Carolina Collection, it is a collection of people, natives of North Carolina, and their writings.

This special collection in the library is a place where they preserve all of the writings of citizens of North Carolina and they had started this before I left North Carolina. And so they had asked that I send copies of everything that I had written, anything I had to do with.

So when I got to China and made this film, I offered them a copy and they took a copy for the North Carolina Collection.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will show you two letters addressed to you and dealing with the subject matter. Are these letters you received?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. Sourwine, Mr. Chairman, may these letters, exhibit 12, go in the record at this point?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection.

(The documents marked "Exhibit No. 12" follow:)

EXHIBIT No. 12

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
Chapel Hill, N.C., January 4, 1967.

Mr. ROBERT F. WILLIAMS,
9 Tai Chi Chang,
Peking, China.

DEAR MR. WILLIAMS: Your letter of December 15 to Mr. Stevenson, a member of our staff, has been handed to me for reply.

We are most anxious to have a copy of the documentary filmed during your visit to China in 1964–65, and I am trying to find out what we must do to have it admitted. If necessary, of course, we will pay the fee charged by the United States Government.

Please give me a little time at this end, but do go ahead with whatever you can do there about getting a print of the film for us. As soon as I have any instructions about sending it I will write you.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM S. POWELL, *Librarian.*

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
Chapel Hill, N.C., July 3, 1967.

Mr. ROBERT F. WILLIAMS.
9 Tai Chi Chang,
Peking, China.

DEAR MR. WILLIAMS: The film is now safely in the North Carolina Collection. It arrived at the Raleigh-Durham airport on the 19th. When I went to the Customs Office in Durham to pick it up, I was told that I would have to have a release from the airlines office at the airport. I was unable to go until Friday afternoon, and today at noon I picked up the film in Durham.

I am pleased to have it for the research resources of the North Carolina Collection, and I am grateful to you for making it available to us. We have scheduled a "preview" showing next Tuesday afternoon at 3 o'clock to which interested members of the faculty will be invited. One of them has recently been in Mongolia, and I am told that he will be especially interested in seeing your film. Professors who teach Chinese history, of course, will also be present.

At your suggestion Prof. Stewart E. Fraser of George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee, has written me about borrowing the film to show his classes this fall. I know no reason why he should not have it.

My thanks again for your generosity in letting us have this film.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAMS S. POWELL.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, to whom else did you offer this film?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I had offered a copy to the Schoenberg Collection in the New York Public Library, but then they asked me for it and the Chinese told me that they didn't have any more copies. So they had run out of copies.

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't place it in any other university libraries, then?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I don't—I didn't place it in any. It may be in some others, though, because I understand that Progressive Labor had a copy or some copies that they got regularly from some place, maybe from China.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, I call your attention to this photocopy of a letter to you from a Mr. Stewart Fraser, director of the International Center, George Peabody College for Teachers. He apparently was much interested in the back issues of the Crusader.

Did you send him a copy of the film for that university, or offer him one?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I offered him one. This is the school at Vanderbilt I was talking about. This is the teachers' college.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And I offered him a copy but the Chinese didn't have any at that time and I suggested——

Mr. SOURWINE. I see.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I suggested that he get it from the University of North Carolina and he wrote me and said that he had—they had allowed him to copy the film from the University of North Carolina.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see.

Mr. Chairman, may this go in the record at this point. It is Counsel's Exhibit No. 9.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you, sir.

(The document marked "Exhibit 9" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 9

GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE FOR TEACHERS,
Nashville, Tenn., May 15, 1967.

Mr. ROBERT K. WILLIAMS,
1 Tai Chi Chang,
Peking, China.

DEAR MR. WILLIAMS: I have received with interest a copy of your newsletter, *The Crusader*, Vol. 8, No. 3, March, 1967. I would appreciate it if I could receive a complete back issues of the previous volumes of *The Crusader* for our Peabody International Center. We are endeavoring to collect material on a world-wide basis which has relevance for international and comparative education as they relate to the Social Sciences.

I note with interest your presentation in *The Crusader*, and though there is much in it with which I am not fully in either sympathy or understanding, I do recognize that it represents a viewpoint with which I am becoming more familiar. Again, if it will be possible to receive back issues of *The Crusader*, I will be appreciative. We are already making a systematic study of materials from China, and I have two books on the topic which may be of interest to you, namely, *Chinese Communist Education: Records of the First Decade*, John Wiley and Sons, 1966, 542 pp., in paperback, and our own Center's publication, *Mao Tse-tung's Quotations; The Red Guards' Handbook*, Peabody International Center, 1967, 330 pp. I am enclosing a publicity flyer on these books in case they are of interest to you and your colleagues.

You might be able to inform me as to the possibilities of being able to visit China to see schools and universities. I am President-elect (1968) of the *Comparative Education Society* (U.S.A.) and would be most interested in obtaining permission to make a one to three month educational visit to China—to both check my previous writings and make adjustments if feasible and necessary to a new current book I am writing entitled, *Education and Communism in China: An Anthology of Commentary and Analyses.*

Yours faithfully,

STEWART FRASER,
Director, International Center, Professor of International and Comparative Education.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Williams, you made an entry in your diary on July 15, 1969, "Go to Chinese Embassy to pick-up film."

Now, think back to that period of time. Can you tell us what film that was?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is the same film.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is this film you are talking about of your travels?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. The film for the Ninth Party Congress and the film of the conflicts, the fighting on the Russian-Chinese border.

Mr. SOURWINE. Oh, yes. Those were the two you sent in.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was the one that they used a portion of on CBS not long ago.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. You took those films and put them in the mail yourself, did you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. I sent them air express from Tanzania to Charlotte, N.C.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is, the film that you picked up on the 15th at the Chinese Embassy is what you referred to in your diary entry of July 19, "Take film to airport, gets it mailed with $20,000 insurance, glad to get that over."

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And that is the film which did reach this country?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. To the television station you told us about?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, we have reached almost the hour of 5 o'clock. What is the chair's pleasure? How late do you wish to sit tonight?

Senator THURMOND. Well, we can stop any time convenient to you all.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well——

Senator THURMOND. If you want to run 10 more minutes.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Is that agreeable to you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is fine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have negotiations and correspondence with an organization known as The Provisional Government of the African-American Captive Nation?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. When I was in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is that organization, if you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I don't know because there are a number of these small groups in splinters and it is supposed to be a group that is for self-determination, for separation, and they said they wanted to establish a government of black people that would be a separate government and a separate nation from the U.S. Government.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does that organization still exist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't think so. At least I haven't heard anything from it since.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long has it been since you had any relationship with the Provisional Government of the African-American Captive Nation?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I think it was maybe 1968. I think it was—the last I heard from a man in California who was supposed to be one of the officials.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were, then, associated with that organization for about 6 years?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I was supposed to have been related with them because, you see, there are two factions of it and I don't know exactly which one you are talking about now. There is one of a man in California who lives in, I think, Los Angeles or one of the places there, and then there is—there was another part of it in Philadelphia, and in Philadelphia now I had contact with them in, I think, about 1964 or 1965 from Cuba.

Now, the other man in California, I had later contact with him. I think it was after 1966 or while I was in China.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the organization you became prime minister of? Wasn't it the Provincial Government of the African-American Captive Nation?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, but that was from Philadelphia, I think.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It has some of the same people in it.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will show you first a letter on the letterhead of the Provisional Government of the African-American Captive Nation marked from the Office of the President and addressed to you in Havana, dated November 25, 1962, from New York City, and, second, an attachment which purports to have been included with the letter, Declaration of Self-Determination of the African-American Captive Nation.

I ask if that is something that you received. Did you get that letter?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. I think I received it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, did this letter include, when you received it, this brochure on the Provincial Government of the African-American Captive Nation?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I think that was in the same letter.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were familiar with that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, in fact, become Prime Minister of this Provincial Government of the African-American Captive Nation?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. I accepted it, but then it was after I accepted it, it was broadcast on the radio and it came out on the wire services from this country and this is when I first started having a break with the Cuban Government. Then the Cuban party called me in and told me that, asked me not to participate in that because they had a big black population in Oriente and if they came out in support of this and if they showed interest in, then the black people in Oriente Province may want to do the same thing. So this was—I wasn't able to follow through with that.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were for a time. About how long were you Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of the African-American Captive Nation?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, as far as participating or being active, never, but I had just agreed and as soon as I agreed to become that, the Prime Minister, then it went out on the news and this is how the Cuban Government got it.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. So it was just a short time? A few days? A few weeks?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Just a—I suppose a few weeks.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you accepted that position as Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of the African-American Captive Nation, did you subscribe to this declaration of self-determination?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, some of it, but the main thing was that I was having a fight in Cuba with the U.S. Communist Party and the U.S. Communist Party's position was with the Cubans that I didn't really have any following in the United States, and they said that there were no black people in the United States who supported me and that I wasn't really a bona fide freedom fighter. In fact, they said I was in exile because I had raped a 15-year-old girl, and so as a result of this, this was a good break for me because it showed to the Cubans that I did have support among the black people in America.

Mr. SOURWINE. I call attention, Mr. Chairman, to the fact that the conclusion of this declaration is the following three paragraphs:

Be it further resolved, that all land south of the Mason-Dixon Line where our people constitute the majority, be partitioned to establish a territory for self-government for the African nation in the USA; and

Be it further resolved, that the United States Government take full responsibility for training our people for self-government in all of its ramifications; and

Be it finally resolved, that the Provisional Government of the African-American Captive Nation be recognized by the Government of the United States as of now.

Did you consider that to be the nature of a petition or in the nature of a proclamation?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I considered it as both. Proclamation proclaiming to the people to actually arouse the people, the black people, to get them to think along this line, and a petition to the Government to accept this position and also to give assistance in bringing it about.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, when I showed you this material before, did you notice also this letter of June 7, 1963, addressed to you as Prime Minister? Did you—do you remember receiving that letter?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I remember receiving it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does that shed any further light on your recollection with respect to how long you were Prime Minister?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because as a result of that they didn't realize in this country that that position was not supported nor approved by the Cuban Government.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see.

Mr. WILLIAMS. So this is why they would continue to write without realizing it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean they still thought you were Prime Minister because they hadn't been told yet that the Cubans wouldn't let you be; is that right?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may this correspondence, exhibit 37, go in the record?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection.

(The documents marked "Exhibit 37" follows:)

EXHIBIT NO. 37

DECLARATION OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN CAPTIVE NATION PROCLAIMED AT THE CENTENNIAL OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

We, The People of the African American Captive Nation, being the victims of trespass vi et armis, and genocide, as defined by the United Nations Organization, in these United States, hereby issue this proclamation of our grievances, position, and aims germane to our welfare and survival.

Whereas, the Magna Carta which proclaimed liberty for the people of Great Britain, and whose important and comprehensive clauses were incorporated in the Constitution of the United States did not free us, nor the Declaration of Independence, nor its Amendments and

Whereas, neither the Bill of Rights, nor the Emancipation Proclamation, nor the Civil Rights Legislation, nor the United Nations Charter, with its universal Declaration of Human Rights brought us liberty; and

Whereas, to our oppressed people has fallen the burden of duty and obligations to this government without rights, which is a strange phenomenon in the annals of world history and

Whereas, the unjustified and immoral policy of the U.S. Government enslaved our people and forced from them unrequited labor for centuries of toil, and now brazenly ignores the demand of our people for restitution, while at the same time wooing our brothers and sisters in Africa, Asia and Latin America with their Peace Corps, surreptitious aid, and a veneer of liberalism which we must vehemently condemn as hypocritcal and deceptive; and

Whereas, the United States Government has had 100 years since the Emancipation Proclamation was signed and still she has not brought freedom and justice to us;

We, the African captives in this country, see in the United States an implacable enemy who has subverted every constructive measure that would remove the yoke of imperialism from our people.

We therefore, at the conclusion of the Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, commend ourselves to, and adopt the provisions of the Declaration of Independence of the United States as apropos to our special needs, which states;

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of earth, the separate equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitles them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal: That they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights: That among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed: That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes: And accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed; but when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

To paraphrase; we declare that such has been the patient suffering of our people and such is now the necessity which constrains us to demand Self Determination, based upon the principles of the Declaration of Independence. The history of this government is a history of repeated injuries which has aroused even our praying people who were considered pacific, somnolent, and self-satisfied. To prove the absolute tyranny over us let the facts be submitted to a candid world.

Therefore, be it resolved, that this powerful nation (The United States of America), that was built with the unrequitted slave labor of our African ancestors, be as magnimonious as it is great, and relieve our oppression with restitution; and

Be it further resolved that all land south of the Mason Dixon line where our people constitute the majority, be partitioned to establish a territory for Self-Government for the African nation in the U.S.A.; and

Be it further resolved that the United States Government take full responsibility for training our people for self-government in all of its ramifications, and

Be it finally resolved that the Provisional Government of the African American Captive Nation be recognized by the Government of the United States as of now.

(Signed) THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF
THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN CAPTIVE NATION.

January, 1963.

THE GREAT AFRICAN NATIONALIST
INDEPENDENCE-PARTITION PARTY OF NORTH AMERICA,
New York, N.Y., June 7, 1963.

His Excellency, Mr. ROBERT WILLIAMS,
Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of the African-American Captive Nation, Havana, Cuba.

MR. PRIME MINISTER, YOUR EXCELLENCY: Your acceptance of the office of Prime Minister of the Provisional Government was met with great jubilation. We have just concluded the emergency conference called to consider your acceptance, and to plan our future activities. Among the major points of discussion was the obligation we felt as a Party with you as a leader, to press for the dismissal of the United States Government's charges against you. We are interested in knowing what you would like us to do in this respect. Since we have been participating in a general sense in several demonstrations for others involved in the Monroe case. However we feel that your particular case should be more sharply focused considering your new position in world affairs. So that at the proper time you may be able to return to us as head of our Government.

The second major point considered was the question of my applying for a visa to visit with you. I am proceeding to make such application.

Another point raised was the question of Party discipline, criticism, and self-discipline. The extreme importance of a working knowledge of African culture, since we must not make the mistake of remaining Anglo-Saxonized and organizing western type institutions with western ideological standards as the basis of our new social order. To this end we have adopted the Yoruba culture (called Lukumi in Cuba) as the foundational pattern of our nation. You may have ample opportunity to investigate aspects of this culture through associations with that order of Cuban society known as the 'Santeros', who while producing a veneer of Roman Catholicism, are essentially African. As a Santero myself (first American initiated at Matanzas, 1959) we have made immense strides in 'purifying' the culture and extending it here.

There were 18 people present at this conference representing the states of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Another point was that land has been offered us in South Carolina, and it has been decided that our point of concentration will become South Carolina rather than New York in approximately 18 months.

We are also participating in a very broad conference of nationalists to be held at Rockland Palace 29th and 30th of June, to discuss the theme of "Integration or Non-integration" and ways and means of winning the support of the uncommitted African-American.

We shall establish here a cabinet of ministers, however we should be interested to know which ministries you consider necessary. It is our feeling also, that the ministers of public relations and finance should be chosen by you there in Cuba, as we fully agree with you that possibilities for world coverage and international support are more available there. As you wish, the seat of government will remain in the U.S.A.

Another point of discussion was that we are considering running candidates for local offices at established election periods as a strategem for raising the issue of separation, and as a periodic test of Party strength.

We are now anxious to begin our campaign to inform the public of your acceptance, and are considering a mass meeting to be held in New York where a statement from you could be presented, and printed for wide distribution. For sharper success we need pictures of you with African delegates, the Chinese and others sympathetic to our cause. Our Party leaders have adopted as their official attire at public forums and appearances the 'Agbada' suit of the Nigerians, since the ancestry of most of our people is traceable to that region. A brimless black hat with the Party insignia pinned to the right side is the official headgear for all Party members on all occassions. For street demonstrations and Party ballyhoo we must have pictures of you wearing the Party cap and if possible some in our national dress. Such an image reflects the cultural emancipation of the African nationalist.

We are happy to report that the Party and its objectives received its first television exposure on the program 'New York Report' as a result of its participation with several nationalist groups in a street demonstration at the appearance of Governor Wallace of Alabama in New York.

We have also received exposure on WDAS in Pennsylvania.

We assume now that you will call a press conference, and we are anxiously awaiting your official announcement to the world of the formation of the Provisional Government of the African-American Captive Nation. The objective of which is to establish an African Peoples' Republic in a 13 state region in the Southeast corner of the United States. Your election as Prime Minister, and the policies of your Government are supported in the United States by the African Nationalist Independence-Partition Party, a locally organized and led political movement composed of African-Americans dedicated to the abolition of White domination over the black masses in the United States. The Party has no desire to overthrow the Government of the United States, but merely seeks an implementation of the right of separation and self-government provided for in the Preamble to the United States Declaration of Independence.

Mr. Prime Minister, we wish you every success.

Yours in the name of the Party, the African-American People, and the African Peoples' Republic,

GIZENGA LATUNJI,
(Also known as Serje Khing).
OLUWA,
Chief of the African Nationalist Independence-Partition Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is a good stopping point.

Senator THURMOND. We will stop now and—we are going to recess now until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:10 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10:30 a.m., on Tuesday, February 17, 1970.) (Prior to February 17, 1970, the meeting scheduled for that date was cancelled. The subcommittee stood in recess until Tuesday, March 24, 1970.)

APPENDIX

SEPTEMBER 16, 1969.

TWA REPORT ON TRANSPORTATION OF ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, LONDON TO DETROIT, SEPTEMBER 12, 1969

The purpose of this memorandum is to report in chronological order the events which culminated in TWA's transportation of Mr. Robert F. Williams from London to Detroit on September 12.

The events described below disclose that TWA on its own responsibility determined that the transportation of Mr. Williams in the normal course on a regularly scheduled flight would or might be inimical to safety of flight and that for this reason TWA refused to transport Mr. Williams when he presented himself in London on September 7. This decision by TWA was authorized under Section 1111 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 and was in TWA's view consistent with its duty to perform its services with the highest possible degree of safety as provided in Section 601(b) of the Act. Thereafter, it was implied in certain newspaper accounts of TWA's refusal to transport Mr. Williams that safety was not the only consideration involved and that TWA was somehow participating in a scheme to deny Mr. Williams his lawful right to enter the United States. Certain of the accounts referred to Mr. Williams in the context of a martyr for the cause of his political convictions and his sympathizers linked TWA with the CIA and with "racism." In these circumstances and in the light of a request from the United States Government that we carry Mr. Williams it was decided on September 10 to transport Mr. Williams to his desired destination in a manner which would not compromise safety. TWA offered, and Mr. Williams accepted, transportation on a special flight without other revenue passengers, save Mr. Williams' attorney. This flight, operated by TWA supervisory personnel, arrived in Detroit at 11:55 a.m., E.S.T., September 12.

A chronicle of the events preceding the September 12 flight follows:

On August 28, the FBI office in Detroit advised TWA that Mr. Williams would be returning to Detroit on a TWA flight from London and that a civil disturbance could be anticipated on his arrival in Detroit. The FBI further pointed out that upon the earlier arrival of Mr. Williams' wife numbers of people had surrounded the aircraft while Mrs. Williams was disembarking.

The FBI asked if TWA could park the airplane at a distance away from the main terminal and off-load Mr. Williams at that point. The Detroit Manager said he could not do this on his own authority and that he would have to obtain permission from the head office in New York. This request for permission made TWA headquarters initially aware of the Williams case.

On August 29, a TWA aircraft bound from the United States to Athens and Tel Aviv was hijacked over Brindisi, Italy, by a young man and young woman who identified themselves as members of the Che Guevara Commando Unit of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The aircraft was diverted to Damascus, Syria, where the hijackers partially destroyed it with explosives after the passengers and crew had been evacuated. The hijackers said their action was to punish American imperialist aggressors.

Against this backdrop of events, TWA officials concluded that to carry Mr. Williams as a passenger, in view of the FBI warnings and his previous travels in Cuba and Communist China, might compromise the safety of the flight for passengers and aircraft.

Under the Federal Aviation Act TWA has the duty to perform its services with the "highest possible degree of safety", Section 601(b), and is authorized under Section 1111 of the Act to refuse transportation to a passenger when in its opinion "such transportation would or might be inimical to safety of flight".

Accordingly, TWA, acting under Section 1111 of the Act, decided not to carry Mr. Williams, and F. C. Wiser, President of TWA, on August 29 authorized a message to London to deny passage to Mr. Williams to the United States on a

TWA flight. TWA's decision not to carry Mr. Williams was its own and was not directed or encouraged by any agency of the U.S. Government.

TWA's involvement in the case appears to stem from the fact that another airline made the reservation on TWA for Mr. Williams. The reservation was not made under the name of Williams but under the name of "Franklin". The ticket for passage was issued by the other airline.

On August 29, an FBI agent advised TWA that Mr. Williams had not made an anticipated connection and therefore probably would be delayed in his attempt to reach Detroit from London until September 6.

On September 5, TWA officials in London were advised by Heathrow Airport officials that Mr. Williams had arrived and anticipated presenting himself for passage to Detroit on Flight 791 of the 6th.

London Airport officials asked TWA if it were planning to carry Mr. Williams and were advised that TWA did not plan to carry Mr. Williams. It is understood that these officials subsequently asked PAA if it would carry Mr. Williams and were advised that PAA would not.

Later, Mr. McCrae, legal attache to the U.S. Embassy in London, contacted first Mr. Enright, TWA Security Manager in London and subsequently Mr. T. F. Huntington, a TWA vice president, who was in Paris. TWA continued to indicate that under the circumstances, TWA was unwilling to carry Mr. Williams from London to Detroit except under conditions which TWA officials suggested to Mr. McCrae as follows:

The first was that TWA would carry Mr. Williams from London to New York on Friday night, September 5, there still being almost three hours before the departure of the last flight to New York provided that Mr. McCrae accompany Mr. Williams as escort and that TWA provide additional escort service at its own expense, which it was prepared to do. In addition, TWA offered to arrange transportation for Mr. Williams' lawyer to New York to meet Mr. Williams on arrival early in the morning of September 6.

The alternate was that TWA would arrange transportation for Mr. Williams' lawyer to come to London to meet Mr. Williams and have Mr. Williams surrender to U.S. custody at the U.S. Embassy, in which case TWA would then be prepared to carry Mr. Williams under suitable guard to a destination in the United States at a time of TWA's choosing to avoid possibility of encountering civil disturbances at the destination.

Mr. McCrae advised that as of the time he learned of this first proposal Mr. Williams had already been placed in protective custody in a British prison and that it was impossible to effect all the coordination necessary to utilize the September 5 flight to New York. It is TWA's understanding that Mr. McCrae indicated that he did not believe that Mr. Williams would accept any alternative other than transportation directly to Detroit.

On Sunday, September 7, Mr. Williams appeared at TWA's ticket counter at London International Airport where he was advised by TWA's Deputy District Manager, Mr. David Wookey, of TWA's decision to refuse transportation to the United States. Mr. Williams was accompanied by a representative of the U.S. Department of State and two agents of Scotland Yard. On being advised that he would not be authorized to travel on TWA to the United States, Mr. Williams threatened suit against TWA.

In view of the foregoing circumstances, the Department of State was advised on September 9 that TWA would consider carrying Mr. Williams from a foreign country to the United States only under the following condtions:

1. That TWA receive an official written request to such effect from the appropriate department in the U.S. Government,

2. That Mr. Williams travel in the custody of appropriate U.S. Government officials, and

3. That the time, port of entry and aircraft be subject to the approval of TWA.

Meanwhile, pressures against TWA's decision not to carry Mr. Williams began to mount from organizations and individuals identified with the black movement and from editorials and columns in newspapers.

On the morning of September 10, the New York Times, a newspaper of extended influence as the only full-size general circulation daily in New York City, carried an editorial page column, "The Airline, by Franz Kafka", written by Anthony Lewis from London. The column was critical of the airlines for their refusal to carry Mr. Williams, although it did concede that "the airlines may be nervous these days after all the contemptible examples of hijacking". (See Article A in attached news clippings.)

In the afternoon of September 10, a group of black pickets staged a noisy demonstration against TWA on the sidewalk in front of the airlines terminal building opposite Grand Central Station. Their signs and literature said in effect, "TWA Refuses Flight to Black Men" . . . . "Don't Fly TWA Today or Ever" . . . . They chanted "TWA–CIA" and "TWA–Racist.

At this juncture, it became apparent that the safety considerations which had governed TWA's action in refusing to carry Mr. Williams were being overlooked and that TWA was being unjustly accused and its motives impugned.

Also, in the late afternoon of September 10, TWA's office in London was advised by the U.S. Embassy in London that it had received word from the Department of of State as follows: ". . . please inform TWA that we would greatly appreciate their cooperation in effecting the transport of Williams from London to U.S."

In the evening of September 10, TWA officials met in New York and agreed that TWA should comply with the State Department request, providing that a procedure could be found which would not compromise safety, inasmuch as TWA had become the focal point of special pressures which showed signs of increasing rather than abating. During the course of the meeting, it was learned also that Mr. Milton Henry, attorney for Mr. Williams, had departed that evening from Detroit to London.

At first, the possibility was considered of bringing Mr. Williams back the following day on Flight 791, which operates non-stop from London to Detroit. Inasmuch as the government had not agreed to provide guards en route, it was decided for reasons of safety that Mr. Williams' transportation be accomplished on a special flight, if available, without other revenue passengers except for Mr. Williams and his attorney, Mr. Henry. This decision was considered consistent with Federal Aviation Act requirements to operate with the "highest possible degree of safety".

TWA's intention to carry out this action was announced to the press in London at about 4 a.m. New York time September 11, following a conference in London among Mr. Henry, shortly after his arrival from Detroit, Mr. Richard Tresise, TWA Manager for the United Kingdom, and Mr. James Plinton, TWA official from New York.

Before the announcement of TWA's decision could appear in New York, the New York Times appeared on September 11 with another editorial titled, "You Can't Come Home". The editorial was critical of the airlines for having refused to carry Mr. Williams and said "the denial of passage appears highly arbitrary, a threat not only to Mr. Williams' right to travel on a common carrier but to the right of all prospective air travelers". (See Article B in attached news clippings.)

At approximately 4:30 p.m. on September 11, a group supporting Mr. Williams, accompanied by a press reporter and a photographer, came to the TWA executive offices on the 42nd floor at 605 Third Avenue. They said TWA had insulted their nation, the Republic of New Africa, and demanded a public apology, also free transportation for 35 of their number to Detroit and return on the following day, to welcome Mr. Williams. They said Mr. Williams had been elected president of their nation in absentia two years ago in Detroit and that Mr. Milton Henry was first vice president. (See Article C in attached clippings.)

Meanwhile, on the operational front, TWA was making plans for the return of Mr. Williams. With a minimum of added cost and inconvenience to others, TWA was able to operate a special extra section flight to carry Mr. Williams. This was done through the consolidation of two lightly booked westbound transatlantic flights which freed an empty aircraft that in any event had to return to the United States for scheduling purposes. The aircraft was flown to Detroit on July 12 as Flight 6715, an extra section to Flight 791, with a volunteer supervisory crew. Mr. Williams' and Mr. Henry's tickets were honored in the economy section. Non-revenue TWA employee passengers aboard were Mr. Plinton, Mr. Joseph McCormick, Manager of Security—New York, and Mr. John Enright of London, Manager of Overseas Security.

The aircraft landed at Detroit's Wayne Major Airport at 11:55 a.m., E.S.T. Approximately 50 law enforcement officers representing the Wayne County sheriff's office and the FBI were present on arrival. After the arrival, Mr. Williams was arrested and taken into custody by FBI agents.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 10, 1969]

ARTICLE A

THE AIRLINES, BY FRANZ KAFKA

(By Anthony Lewis)

LONDON.—In the 1950's the State Department forbade numerous Americans to leave the United States on vague grounds of suspect beliefs or associations. Those restraints on the freedom to travel were found unlawful by the Supreme Court in 1958, and Congress has declined to reimpose them.

Now it appears that an American abroad may be prevented from returning to his own country—without any official ruling, without a reason or a hearing. That is the threatened import of the mysterious case of Robert F. Williams.

To most people Williams would not be a sympathetic figure. He was a premature and therefore unromanticized advocate of black power. Eight years ago he fled the United States when charged with kidnapping in a confused North Carolina racial incident. Since then, from platforms in Havana and Hanoi and Peking, he has denounced American "racism."

But Williams's uncongenial qualities have nothing much to do with the issues of liberty posed by his present situation. The great cases that define freedom have often involved unappealing characters.

The outline facts in Williams's case are as follows:

THE AIRLINES' REFUSAL

Last Friday Williams flew without incident to London. But before he reached the immigration control desk at London Airport, he was stopped by detectives, searched painstakingly and taken off to a prison. He says he was not allowed to see a lawyer or use a telephone.

At the same time Trans World Airlines said it would not honor his ticket to fly to Detroit. The only explanation given by the airline, in a subsequent public statement, was the non-explanatory one that his carriage "would be inimical to the best interests of T.W.A. and its passengers."

Pan American also refused to fly Williams. Two non-American trans-Atlantic carriers, BOAC and Air India, then took the same position.

On Saturday the American Embassy here in London said it could arrange to have an escort accompany Williams home. This was evidently to settle any concern about violent behavior by Williams on the flight, but the airlines did not change their position.

Sunday, still without giving Williams any recourse to a lawyer, British officials took him to the airport and prepared to put him on a United Arab Airlines plane for Cairo. But the plane happened to hit a truck, and the flight was canceled. Williams went back to prison.

The next day he was brought to the airport for the Cairo flight again. But by now interested persons knew of his situation and intervened. In the presence of two lawyers, a civil liberties organization spokesman and two American friends Williams protested that he had never been in Cairo in his life and would have to be taken there by force.

CONSPIRACY OR NOT

Five minutes before the plane left, British officials dropped the idea of putting him on it. Except for the improbable accident at the airport on Sunday, and the outside intervention on his behalf, he would have been in Cairo by now.

Williams blames his troubles on the Central Intelligence Agency. One unhysterical Englishman who is trying to help him maintains that there are signs of C.I.A. interference.

Those who instinctively reject the conspiratorial view of life will discount the C.I.A. charge. The trouble is that the alternative is not very pleasant either. It is that the airlines flying the Atlantic have somehow simultaneously decided not to fly a particular passenger back to his own country, with the result that he cannot get there. And Britain, at the same time, does its best to send the man in the other direction without any legal proceeding.

It is easy to understand why airlines may be nervous these days, after all the contemptible examples of hijacking. But very few passengers would go on a

plane with as much assurance against such behavior as Williams—searched and escorted.

Personally, Williams may be seen as a disreputable outcast or as a man now willing to pay for his errors. But his character is not the point. Any American might try to imagine himself abroad and blandly told by every airline that he cannot fly home—for unstated reasons, perhaps at some government agency's inspiration and perhaps not, with no way to find out and no one officially responsible.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 11, 1969]

ARTICLE B

YOU CAN'T COME HOME

Robert F. Williams is a black militant who fled this country eight years ago to avoid a charge of kidnapping in his home town of Monroe, N.C. Since then he has preached violent revolution in the United States from such places as Cuba, Communist China, North Vietnam and Africa.

The prospect of Mr. Williams's return to face charges still pending against him and perhaps to preach his gospel of hate cannot be comforting to those responsible for civil order in the country—nor, indeed, to anyone concerned for the peaceful integration of American society. Nevertheless, Mr. Williams as an American citizen is entitled to come home and have his day in court. The State Department recognized that right when it issued him a one-way passport for the return trip.

The refusal of four international airlines—two of them American—to carry Mr. Williams from Britain to the United States, therefore, should be a matter of concern to every American. The airlines base their refusal on the statutory right to turn down passengers who may be "inimical to the safety of flight." In view of Mr. Williams's reputation for violence—at least in his utterances—and the recent wave of hijackings, the carriers' caution is understandable.

But Mr. Williams is not a convicted criminal and he had been searched thoroughly for arms by British authorities. He was not a potential fugitive but a man who was trying to return to this country. In these circumstances, the denial of passage appears highly arbitrary, a threat not only to Mr. Williams's right to travel on a common carrier but to the right of all prospective air travelers. Neither the security of air travel nor that of the United States is going to be enhanced by making a martyr out of this militant.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 12, 1969]

ARTICLE C

BLACK NATIONALIST RETURNING TO U.S.; T.W.A. RESCINDS ITS DECISION NOT TO TRANSPORT WILLIAMS

LONDON, September 11.—Robert F. Williams, the American black nationalist held here since Friday, is scheduled to fly to Detroit tomorrow morning.

Trans World Airlines, which had refused to carry him as a passenger, changed its position today. A spokesman said it had done so "in response to a request from the United States Government."

T.W.A. will provide a special flight for Mr. Williams alone, or possibly accompanied by his lawyer. They would be the only passengers on a Boeing 707 with seats for 142. Charter cost for such a flight would be about $15,000. Regular fare tickets for a full plane would gross the airline about $43,000.

All indications were that Mr. Williams would board the plane tomorrow. His lawyers said tonight he planned to go.

He had objected earlier to T.W.A.'s plans to have aboard two men whom it described as "airline security personnel."

For the last eight years Mr. Williams has been a fugitive from a kidnapping charge made in a racial incident in North Carolina. He has traveled in Cuba, China, North Vietnam and elsewhere, calling on blacks to attack American "racism."

Mr. Williams flew from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, last Friday. He had a ticket for a connecting T.W.A. flight from London to Detroit, but T.W.A. would not honor it. Pan American, British Overseas Airways and Air India then also declined to fly him across the Atlantic.

It was learned from a source outside T.W.A. that Mr. Williams had obtained the ticket in the first place by using his middle name and calling himself "Robert Franklin." T.W.A. and other lines had him on a list of prohibited passengers and would not have issued the ticket under his name.

The British authorities took Mr. Williams from the airport on Friday and held him in Pentonville Prison. They then tried to send him to Cairo but eventually abandoned that effort when Mr. Williams furiously objected and friends and lawyers intervened. Mr. Williams had also refused to eat in prison.

HEARING IS HELD

After T.W.A.'s surprise decision to put on a special plane for Mr. Williams, there was a hearing in the High Court, today on an application to free him from prison by a writ of habeas corpus.

The legal move amounted to an attempt to let Mr. Williams go free for the overnight period before tomorrow's flight. Lord Justice Winn denied the application.

Mr. Williams's purpose in pressing the habeas corpus move, the judge said, was apparently to make a grievance against the British people and authorities. Lord Justice Winn said he "regretted and deprecated" what he called this "racist approach."

Tonight Mr. Williams was taken from Pentonville to the airport. He was understood to be spending the night there in a detention center where he ate a good meal, breaking his week-long hunger strike.

With Mr. Williams on the flight—for which he will use his $283 economy-class ticket—will be two security men, a flight deck crew of three and an unknown number in the cabin crew—usually seven. Also along will be James Plinton, a Negro executive of T.W.A., who flew over to help settle the dispute about Mr. Williams's status.

"REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA"

A lawyer from Detroit, Milton R. Henry, flew in early this morning to assist Mr. Williams and help make the arrangements with T.W.A. This afternoon Mr. Henry held a news conference at which he described Mr. Williams as the "president of the Republic of New Africa."

Mr. Henry said that the republic was "a government for the non-self-governing black people held captive within the territorial limits of the United States." One of its objectives he said is to obtain Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia and South Carolina for black people.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation in Detroit, headquarters of the Republic of New Africa, had been informed of the flight plan, Mr. Henry said, and presumably would issue a federal warrant for Mr. Williams as a fugitive from North Carolina.

WILLIAMS SUPPORTERS PICKET

A dozen "friends of the Republic of New Africa" picketed yesterday in front of T.W.A.'s ticket offices at 80 East 42d Street to protest the airline's original refusal to fly Mr. Williams from London to Detroit.

After picketing, some of the group, led by Herman Ferguson, the republic's East Coast Regional Vice President, went to T.W.A.'s executive offices at 605 Third Avenue to present two demands.

They asked for a public apology and for the passage to Detroit for the republic's members who last week went to Detroit and waited vainly for Mr. Williams' arrival after they were assured by T.W.A. that he would be flying in. No action was taken immediately on the demands.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 9, 1969]

BRITAIN BOWS TO PROTESTS OF BLACK MILITANT; DEFERS SENDING HIM TO CAIRO

(By Anthony Lewis)

LONDON, Sept. 8.—British officials gave way tonight to protests by Robert F. Williams, an American black militant, and at least temporarily abandoned plans to send him to Cairo.

Mr. Williams was held in a detention block at London Airport all afternoon. At 7 P.M. he was told to get ready to board a United Arab Airlines plane. But officials dropped that idea a few minutes later after a furious argument in which he reportedly said:

"I will go to Cairo only as a dead body."

The Williams case, a complicated and mystifying one, became increasingly embarrassing for the British Government all day. Civil liberties and black immigrant groups intervened, and legal moves were begun.

Tonight, the Secretary of the National Council for Civil Liberties, Tony Smythe, said that he had an "undertaking" from the Home Office not to force Mr. Williams onto any plane against his will. Mr. Smythe said "violence would clearly be necessary" to get him on a plane to Cairo.

After the scene at the airport, Mr. Williams was taken back for the night to Pentonville Prison, where he had been held since last Friday. Tomorrow, Mr. Smythe and the lawyers will try to clear the way for him to go where he wants to—Detroit.

For the last eight years Mr. Williams has been a fugitive from a North Carolina kidnaping charge. He has visited such places as Communist China, North Vietnam and Cuba and made numerous speeches denouncing American policy.

Recently, he decided to return to the United States and face the criminal charges. His wife flew to Detroit a few weeks ago.

In Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, Mr. Williams received from the American Embassy a travel document good only for a trip to the United States. He also bought a through airline ticket from Dar es Salaam to Detroit.

Last Friday, he flew to London on a U.A.A. plane that stopped at Entebbe, Uganda; Cairo, Rome and Geneva. But when he tried to use his confirmed ticket on a Trans World Airlines plane, that line said that it would not carry him.

Other trans-Atlantic carriers—Pan American, British Overseas Airways and Air India—joined in the refusal to fly him to the United States. They gave no reason but indicated that they considered him dangerous.

SAYS HE WAS SEARCHED

He said today that British officials who identified themselves as policemen met him at the airport on Friday and told him that they had had word from the Federal Bureau of Investigation that he was carrying guns. He said that he had been searched three times—even a pen was examined closely.

Mr. Williams was described tonight as bitter at the British Government and the Central Intelligence Agency, which he said was behind the airlines' refusal to honor his ticket.

He told a sympathetic group that met him in the detention cell at the airport that he had not taken anything to eat or drink since his arrest last Friday. He said that he would continue the hunger strike unless he was allowed to fly home.

His words were reported afterward by Richard Gibson, a correspondent here for Negro Press International of Chicago, who has known him for 10 years.

"I'm supposed to be a fugitive from the United States," Mr. Gibson said Mr. Williams told him, "yet everybody wants to keep me from going on trial there.

"I am being held here illegally like a criminal, but I've never been convicted of any crime. I want to face my accusers.

"I don't know what the lawyers can do for me. But I hope the black power people will find my case a good cause and will demonstrate wherever they can against T.W.A. and the British."

WILLIAMS TERMED FURIOUS

Mr. Gibson said that Mr. Williams was furious at the idea of being sent to Cairo merely because he had traveled on a U.A.A. plane. He has never been in

that city, and he asked officials why he could not instead be sent back to Geneva or Rome, where the plane also stopped.

The West Indian Standing Conference, a grouping of black immigrant societies here, intervened to help Mr. Williams yesterday after learning that he was in Pentonville. Jeff Crawford, a spokesman, said today:

"For a country which has always prided itself on its tradition of humanity and generosity toward people who have sought refuge, this comes as a discredit, because Williams was simply in transit."

Mr. Smythe of the Civil Liberties Council was among those who were allowed to see Mr. Williams at the airport today. Two lawyers were also there. So was an American Negro, William Sutherland, who was on his way from the United States to a job with the Tanzanian Government in Dar es Salaam.

Mr. Sutherland had been asked by the American Civil Liberties Union in New York to look into the case.

A Detroit lawyer, Milton Henry, apparently obtained by Mr. William's wife, cabled him today that he was on his way to London.

Mr. Smythe expressed bewilderment tonight at the refusal of the airlines to fly Mr. Williams even though the American Embassy had offered to have an official of some kind accompany him on any flight.

Mr. Smythe said that the State Department was evidently cooperating in Mr. Williams return home. In addition to granting the passport in Dar es Salaam, he said, the consular officials had given Mr. Williams a special document allowing him to import into the United States some goods he had obtained in Communist China.

Mr. Williams was in Peking until last May.

AIRLINE INDUSTRY VIEW

Airline industry sources cited yesterday Mr. Williams' prominence as a militant leader and industry fears following the hijacking of a T.W.A. jet in the Middle East Aug. 30 as reasons for the refusal by airlines to accept Mr. Williams as a passenger.

Franklin Oelschlager, director of the Air Transport Association's office of enforcement, said:

"I think that the enormous amount of publicity on his case, following on the heels of the Damascus hijacking, made it apparent that he would be a natural target for trouble—both from people sympathetic to him and those who objected. This would have created an unpredictable security problem under the circumstances."

A T.W.A. spokesman in New York indicated last night that it was still possible that the airline might carry Mr. Williams. The spokesman said, "We're working with the State Department in Washington to find an appropriate course of action."

One possibility appeared to be that a special charter flight might be arranged.

BLACK MILITANT

LONDON.—American black militant Robert F. Williams waited in Pentonville Prison today while Civil Liberties attorneys searched for an airline to fly him to the U.S.

Williams, president of the Black Separatist Republic of New Africa, arrived here Friday. He was detained by British immigration officials as an undesirable alien after U.S. airlines refused to fly him to Detroit.

Williams was due to fly to Cairo aboard a United Arab Airlines plane Monday, but attorneys won last minute police permission for him to go back to prison pending further legal moves.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 8, 1969]

BRITAIN IS SENDING BLACK MILITANT BACK TO CAIRO

LONDON, Sept. 7—Britain has decided to send Robert F. Williams, the American black militant who arrived here Friday, back to Cairo.

Immigration officials are detaining him in London's Pentonville Prison pending negotiations for his onward journey. Trans World Airlines, which was scheduled to carry him to Detroit, has refused despite the offer by the American Embassy to provide an escort.

In a statement issued tonight, the airline said it had "concluded that his presence aboard our aircraft both in the air and upon his arrival at a United States destination would be inimical to the best interests of T.W.A. and its passengers."

A spokesman for Pan American said that it had received orders from its New York office not to carry Mr. Williams.

An American Embassy spokesman said that it could not understand the airline's refusal in view of the offer of an escort.

Mr. Williams fled the United States eight years ago to avoid a charge of kidnapping in his home town of Monroe, N.C. With his wife and two sons he went to Cuba, where he published a newsletter, The Crusader, which preached revolution to the American black community and instructed Negroes in the techniques of urban guerrilla warfare.

Later, he continued his activities in North Vietnam, Communist China and Tanzania. He urged American blacks not to serve in Vietnam. He called on those who did to kill white soldiers "so that these racists will not be able to return home."

According to the American Embassy here, Mr. Williams applied at the Embassy in Dar es Salaam, the capital of Tanzania, for voluntary repatriation, saying that he wanted to go to Detroit to face any charges against him.

He was issued a one-way travel document and flew to Cairo, where he boarded a United Arab Airlines plane for London.

Because of the refusal of the American carriers to take him to the United States, the responsibility to take him out of Britain lay with the Egyptian airline, and this afternoon he was taken to Heathrow to board a flight to Cairo.

But the Egyptian plane refueling at Heathrow collided with a truck, and the flight was delayed. Mr. Williams is now scheduled to leave for Cairo at 3:45 P.M. tomorrow.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 10, 1969]

SHIP LINE REPORTED WILLING TO TRANSPORT WILLIAMS TO THE U.S.

LONDON, September 9 (Reuters).—The Home Office said today that it had found a company willing to take Robert F. Williams, an American black power advocate, to the United States by ship.

A Home Office spokesman said officials hoped to hear tomorrow from the 44-year-old Negro dissident as to whether he would be willing to sail, following the refusal of airlines in London to fly him to the United States.

Sources close to Mr. Williams, who is currently on a hunger strike in Pentonville Prison in London, said tonight that he was still insisting on being flown home.

The Government spokesman declined to identify the shipping company willing to carry Mr. Williams, who had been in exile during the last eight years.

Mr. Williams fled to Cuba eight years ago to avoid a charge of kidnapping a white couple in North Carolina. He had made numerous speeches denouncing American policy on trips to Communist China and North Vietnam.

He arrived in Britain from Cairo last Friday on his way to Detroit. He was refused admission to enter Britain and was sent to Pentonville Prison pending his departure.

The Home Office tried to send him back to Cairo, but Mr. Williams refused to go peacefully.

He threatened to fight officers trying to put him aboard the United Arab Airlines jet to Cairo. A friend said Mr. Williams shouted: "I am not going back to Cairo: I would rather be dead. I don't want to stay in Britain. I want to go to the United States. I am not a criminal."

He was returned to prison, where he refused to take any food.

[From the Aviation Daily, Sept. 10, 1969]

TWA, PAN AM, STATE DEPT. DISCUSS HOW TO FLY MILITANT FROM LONDON TO U.S.

Representatives from TWA and Pan American were meeting with State Department officials at DAILY presstime yesterday in an attempt to find an appropriate course of action in the travel problem posed by American black militant Robert Williams. In the meantime, Williams is being held in a London detention center.

William, who fled the U.S. eight years ago after being charged with kipnapping a North Carolina white couple, is seeking return to the U.S. after spending the past years in Cuba, Red China, North Vietnam and Tanzania. He left Dar es Salaam last Friday on a United Arab Airlines flight, but was refused passage from London to Detroit, although he held a valid TWA ticket.

Other transatlantic carriers—Pan American, BOAC and Air India—also refused to carry Williams to the U.S. unless he was under guard. When the U.S. embassy in London agreed to provide an escort, the airlines still refused.

Although TWA has in its own tariff regulations the right to refuse passage to individuals (CAB No. 17, Tariff R-3, Rule 8), the airline and the other carriers are following the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 (Rule 1-11-11) which provides them the authority to refuse transportation.

The federal law states that "subject to reasonable rules and regulations prescribed by the administrator, any air carrier is authorized to refuse transportation to a passenger . . . when, in the opinion of the air carrier, such transportation would, or might be, inimical to the safety of flight."

One carrier representative commented that the airlines would be foolish to take any chances, particularly after the TWA hijacking to Syria. Franklin Oelschlager, director of the Air Transport Assn.'s office of enforcement, said, "I think that the enormous amount of publicity on (Williams') case, following on the heels of the Damascus hijacking, made it apparent that he would be a natural target for trouble—both from people sympathetic to him and those who objected. This would have created an unpredictable security problem. . ."

* * *

TRANSPORTATION SECRETARY John A. Volpe, Interior Secretary Walter J. Hickel and Florida Governor Claude R. Kirk, Jr. will meet in Washington this morning to discuss the future of the Everglades airport, subject of controversy between conservation and aviation partisans (DAILY, September 8). Volpe plans to make a statement after the meeting.

[From the New York Post, Sept. 11, 1969]

TWA YIELDS, WILL BRING WILLIAMS BACK

LONDON (AP).—American Negro revolutionary Robert F. Williams today won his fight to return to the U.S.

TWA, which had refused to take Williams across the Atlantic, announced it would take him on a special flight. It said the only passengers would be the 44-year-old black power leader's lawyer and an airline security guard.

TWA said it would transport Williams "in response to a request from the U.S. government."

A TWA spokesman in New York said the flight would cost "as much as $20,000" and the airline is paying for it. Williams had accused TWA of breach of contract for not honoring the London-to-New York ticket he had bought, and the American Civil Liberties Union announced it was considering legal action against the airlines on behalf of Williams.

Sources said Williams would leave London tomorrow. Williams is returning to his home in Detroit. He faces a North Carolina kidnapping charge from which he fled eight years ago.

Egypt's United Arab Airlines flew him from Tanzania to London via Cairo last Saturday, but TWA and all other airlines flying the Atlantic refused to take him to the U.S. Airline sources said the lines feared a hijacking.

BLACK MILITANT

LONDON.—Robert F. Williams, a black separatist wanted in the United States on an eight-year-old kidnapping charge, today accepted an offer from a U.S. airline to fly him alone on a special flight to Detroit tomorrow.

Trans World Airlines (TWA) reversed a pervious policy banning Williams from traveling on its planes and said it would fly Williams to Detroit abroad a plane carrying security guards and no other passengers.

[From the Aviation Daily, Sept. 12, 1969]

TWA TO TRANSPORT WILLIAMS BACK TO U.S.

Trans World Airlines said a special-section flight is expected to leave London early this afternoon bound for Detroit with black militant Robert Williams on board. Cost of the special flight, more than $20,000, will be borne entirely by TWA.

TWA informed the State Department Tuesday that it would carry Williams if three conditions were met: (1) a written transportation request be submitted by a government agency, (2) a suitable escort be provided, and (3) the time and place of arrival of the flight be subject to TWA's approval. A TWA spokesman said a government request has been received and Williams is in complete accord with all the details.

Accompanying Williams on the flight will be Milton Henry, Detroit lawyer, and TWA security personnel. Supervisory personnel of the airline will be in charge of the aircraft.

Williams has been confined in London's Pentonville Prison awaiting transport, which TWA said had been held up because the FBI had advised that "a civil disturbance could be anticipated on (Williams') arrival in Detroit."

(BLACK MILITANT)

LONDON.—Accussed kidnaper Robert F. Williams gave a clenched fist salute in his Mao Tse-Tung suit today and left for the U.S. aboard a 130-seat airliner that carried only him, his lawyer, a security guard and a crew of eight.

The Trans World Airlines Boeing 707 left for Detroit 95 minutes ahead of schedule, with Williams being whisked aboard after spending the night in an unerground detention cell in London's Heathrow Airport.

The plane was scheduled to reach Detroit at 12:45 p.m. Detroit time.

(BLACK MILITANT)

DETROIT.—Robert F. Williams, the black revolutionary who fled the U.S. eight years ago to avoid trial on kidnaping charges, flew to American soil today and was promptly arrested by the FBI.

FBI agents stepped onto the special Trans World Airlines jet and brought out Williams, wanted on a Federal fugitive warrant.

Williams had spent a week in an English jail prior to his direct flight from London to Detroit.

Williams, who laid down much of the groundwork in the black power movement's philosophy of meeting violence with violence, shook hands with the stewardess and customs officials on his way out of the plane.

The bearded Williams, 44, wore a blue Mao Tse-Tung suit and a red Chinese style cap as he stepped off the plane.

A heavy security guard of Wayne County sheriff's deputies and plainclothes policemen was waiting. There were also about 50 gaily dressed members of the Republic of New Africa, the black nationalist paper nation of which Williams is "President."

Williams was taken immediately for a hearing before a U.S. commissioner on the fugitive warrant, issued following kidnaping charges during racial disturbances in Monroe, N.C., in 1961.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 13, 1969]

WILLIAMS SEIZED ON RETURN TO U.S.

(By Thomas A. Johnson)

DETROIT, September 12.— Robert F. Williams, the black militant who preached black revolution in the United States during an eight-year self-imposed exile in Cuba, Asia and Africa, returned to the United States today on a special Trans World Airlines flight from London. He was immediately arrested by the Federal authorities on a fugitive warrant issued by North Carolina and then released on $1,000 bail. Wayne County officials took custody of Mr. Williams. He then appeared in the Common Pleas Court where the warrant was reviewed, and Mr. Williams was then released on a personal recognizance bond of $10,000. Mr. Williams, a heavy-set man of medium height who wore dark horn-rimmed glasses and a simply made gray "Mao" suit, stood quietly during the proceedings.

The suit he wore is worn by all Chinese males, he said later. It has been named for the Chinese leader, Mao Tse-tung.

Mr. Williams was represented during the proceedings by Milton Henry, a Pontiac, Mich., lawyer who accompanied him from London and who was dressed all the while in a dark blue dashiki.

Mr. Henry is vice president of the black separatist group, Republic of New Africa, when it was formed 18 months ago, and Mr. Williams was named the republic's president.

EMOTIONAL GATHERING

After an emotional meeting at the Negro-owned Twenty Grand Motel with many of his African-garbed followers, many of whom had never seen Mr. Williams, Mr. Williams met with newsmen for about 20 minutes.

In a soft-spoken, accommodating manner, he denied kidnapping a white couple in Monroe, N.C., in 1961. This charge led to his flight soon after. He said he had actually rescued the couple from several hundred angry Negroes.

"Some men were actually crying, 'Let me kill them, let me kill them,' and I had to fight the crowd to keep them from killing the couple," Mr. Williams told the newsmen, adding that it was probably a "mistake" to have interceded.

During the conference, Mr. Williams was not specific on the role he would play in America's black revolution but said:

"I'm back here to serve the cause of justice and freedom—to help black people in whatever way possible."

The only time the militant Negro raised his voice during the conference was when he said that if the courts returned him to North Carolina that he would not go with the same "confidence" in North Carolina justice as he had put in justice in Michigan.

"North Carolina is still a jungle," he said. "People there are not yet civilized."

He said the only way he would go back to North Carolina would be "for a fight and when I say fight I mean war."

At this point several of his followers exploded with shouts of "right on," and "teach, brother."

While he would not commit the Republic of New Africa to a program of violence, Mr. Williams said violence had historically brought about social changes.

Speaking on racial separatism, he said that this was a necessary step where the races could not get along, "like a bad marriage—you separate and there is a property settlement." He said this was "not a Marxist view but a freedom view."

Mr. Williams said he had received no promises of specific military or financial aid from overseas for black American militants but added:

"I've heard many officials condemn racism in America and they say they will aid the blacks in whatever way necessary."

Mr. Williams left China two years ago and went to Tanzania where he began laying the groundwork for his return. He was aided by supporters here.

His wife, Mabel, and two sons, John and Robert, returned to the United States a month ago and have been living quietly in Michigan with relatives. Mr. Williams planned to join them a week ago.

When he flew to London last Friday his tourist class ticket on TWA was not honored and Pan American, British Overseas Airways and Air India also refused to fly him to the United States. Two days ago Mr. Henry, the lawyer, flew to London.

A T.W.A. spokesman in London said yesterday that they would fly Mr. Williams to Detroit, "in response to a request from the United States Government."

The special flight, No. 6715, which normally carries 142 passengers, carried Mr. Williams, Mr. Henry, two T.W.A. security guards, two stewards, two hostesses, the pilot and the co-pilot.

Also on board was a T.W.A. executive, James Plinton. Mr. Plinton, a Negro flier, had trained Mr. Henry as a fighter pilot for the American Air Force during World War II.

Mr. Williams was taken after a fast ride from the airport to the Federal building in downtown Detroit where Judge Fred W. Kaess, during a seven-minute hearing, released him on bail.

Judge Kaess commented on one point that Mr. Williams and Mr. Henry had gotten special treatment on the airline.

"It was the best service I would ever hope to get," said Mr. Henry.

"A Federal judge does not get that kind of service," Judge Kaess stated.

Mr. Henry replied: "No, it was reserved for a president."

"Yes, that's right, isn't it?" Judge Kaess commented.

The Wayne County Undersheriff, James Lucas, who is also a Negro, took custody of Mr. Williams and escorted him the six blocks to the Common Pleas Court where Judge Robert D. Kent, released Mr. Wiilliams in his own recognizance on a $10,000 bond.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 13, 1969]

PIONEER BLACK MILITANT

(By Robert Franklin Williams)

Robert Franklin Williams, a soft-voiced prophet of militance, first came to national attention for preaching the hard-line gospel, urging Negroes to "meet violence with violence," at a time when the civil rights movement was still marching to the cadence of "We Shall Overcome." That was in 1959, when Mr. Williams was suspended as head of the Union County, N.C., chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for publicly disclaiming the prevailing nonviolent faith.

Mr. Williams's fame, or notoriety, grew when he fled the United States in 1961 after being charged with kidnapping, and asked for political asylum in Cuba.

From Cuba, Mr. Williams and his wife, Mabel, and their two sons journeyed to Communist China in 1966 and then back to the United States yesterday, where Mr. Williams was greeted by his adherents as president of the Republic of New Africa.

He was elected chief executive of this projected new black republic in the South in absentia.

SEEMED EMBARRASSED

Observers in Detroit yesterday said that the stocky, bearded 44-year-old militant seemed at times almost embarrassed by his status.

One long-time associate, Conrad Lynn, a New York civil rights lawyer, said this new involvement was "a completely different slant" for Mr. Williams, who he said had always been "above all a practical guy."

Mr. Williams was born in Monroe, N.C. He served in the Marine Corps at the time of the Korean war, reaching the rank of sergeant.

In the corps he was trained as a machinist, the trade at which he worked in Detroit after his discharge. Then, in 1955, he went back to Monroe to concentrate on civil rights, according to Mr. Lynn.

It was in the late nineteen-fifties that Mr. Williams began to use the following sort of rhetoric that later "Black Power" advocates would make familiar.

"We're not making progress in this country, and we're not satisfied with our Uncle Tom leaders who tell us we are."

The incident that led to his eight-year self-exile took place on Aug. 27, 1961, when a group of Negroes marching around the Monroe courthouse to protest segregation were attacked by a group of whites and rioting broke out.

WHITE COUPLE DETAINED

A white couple driving through the town's Negro neighborhood were stopped and surrounded by about 200 armed Negroes.

Mr. Williams took the couple to his house and held them there, releasing them unharmed a short time later. He said yesterday that he had done this to shelter them from the armed mob, but the official view was different.

When informed that he was to be charged with kidnapping, Mr. Williams fled, making his way to New York and then to Havana by way of Canada. He had previously expressed sympathy with Castro and had on occasion flown a Cuban flag in the yard of his home.

At first, all seemed to go well for the Williamses in Cuba—he was joined there by his wife and children—and Mr. Williams made militant broadcasts, critical of the United States on "Radio Free Dixie."

FAMILY GOES TO CHINA

Then, in 1966, Mr. Williams and his family went to Communist China, from where he continued to publish his magazine, "The Crusader." He said in one issue that "the most noble cry to come out of racist America since the Boston Tea Party is the cry: "Burn, baby, burn."

Mr. Williams, who has been said by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to be associated with the Revolutionary Action Movement and, at least as an ideological inspiration, the Black Panther party, also carried his message to North Vietnam and to Tanzania.

According to Mr. Lynn, "He wanted to come back [to the United States] as early as 1962. One reason was that he was homesick, that's a fact . . ."

Mr. Lynn described Mr. Williams as very quiet and liable, an impression confirmed by persons who attended his press conference in Detroit, where he was said to be far less militant in manner than many of his followers.

His two sons, John, 18, and Robert, 20, stood quietly and respectfully near their father. His wife, described as a well-educated woman who has been his political aide, was self-effacing. She wore a Western dress and her hair was styled in a way that made it evident it had been straightened.

Mr. Williams, who is described as having always been totally involved with his own sense of mission to the exclusion of any other interest, wore his hair close-cropped under a Mao cap. An Afro hair style may be unnecessary for the man who established his revolutionary credentials long before "Black Power" became the shorthand of militancy.

[From the Daily News, Sept. 13, 1969]

BLACK REBEL FLIES IN AND GIVES UP

DETROIT, September 12 (UPI).—Fugutive black revolutionary Robert F. Williams, who fled the United States eight years ago to avoid trial on kidnaping charges, flew from a British prison today into the arms of the FBI.

After appearing in both federal and state courts, he was released in personal bonds of $11,000 and reunited with his wife, Mabel, and two sons.

Attorney General John N. Mitchell said in Washington the specific charge was "unlawful flight to avoid prosecution—kidnaping."

FLED U.S. IN 1961

Williams, 44, fled the U.S. in 1961 after he was charged with kidnaping Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Stegall of Marshville, N.C., during racial disturbances in Monroe, N.C.

A heavy guard of Wayne County sheriff's deputies and about 50 gaily dressed members of the Black Nationalist Republic of New Africa were on hand to greet Williams. Williams was dressed in a blue Mao Tse-tung-style suit and a Red Chinese-style cap.

The bearded Williams was taken before U.S. District Judge Frederick W. Karess and was released in $1,000 bond on a federal fugitive charge.

LANDS AT NOON

He then was turned over to Michigan authorities who said extradition has been requested from North Carolina. He later was released in $10,000 bond by Common Pleas Judge George D. Kent and a hearing was set for Nov. 12.

A Trans World Airlines jet carried only Williams, his attorney, a crew of

eight and two unarmed guards. It touched down about noon, ending Williams' years of sojourn in Cuba, Red China, North Vietnam and Tanzania.

Williams was on his way to Detroit a week ago when TWA refused to carry him across the Atlantic. He was detained in England as an undesirable alien until the airline agreed to fly him.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 13, 1969]

BLACK FUGITIVE WILLIAMS RETURNS, VOWS TO PRESS SEPARATIST DRIVE

(By Robert C. Maynard)

DETROIT, September 12.—Robert F. Williams, a homesick black who fled into exile more than eight years ago, came home today vowing to continue his part in the black separatist struggle. He was immediately arrested as a fugitive from North Carolina justice, but was soon free on personal bond.

"I never wanted to leave in the first place," Williams said when asked at a press conference why he returned from Tanzania. Before Tanzania, he lived in Cuba and China. "I resented every minute that I was out and I resented the people who forced me out."

Dressed in a Chinese-style suit adorned with a simple red ribbon that said in Chinese, "Serve the People," Williams bounded off Trans World Airlines Flight 6715 at six minutes past noon, looking thin but fit.

Alone on the flight with airline personnel and his lawyer and friend Milton Henry of Pontiac, Mich., Williams found a changed America. He said his treatment upon arrival convinced him some things in this country have improved. He credited black militancy.

The changes, Williams said, were manifested in the way he was treated by the courts here. In a well-orchestrated series of legal moves that took less than three hours, Williams was whisked from Federal Court where he was freed on $1,000 personal bond a charge of unlawful flight to avoid prosecution to a county court where an obviously friendly proceeding ended with his release on a personal bond of $10,000 pending a hearing on North Carolina's request that he be sent there to stand trial on a kidnaping charge.

It is the kidnaping incident that began Williams' lonely chaotic journey. It made him a cause celebre around the world. A mill worker in Monroe, N.C., Williams also was president of the local chapter of the NAACP. Unlike other chapters that were concerned with legal redress of discrimination grievances, the Monroe chapter under Williams adopted the position that white violence should be answered with guns.

Soon shooting incidents between the Ku Klux Klan and blacks took place. On Sunday, Aug. 27, 1961, a near-riot occurred in Monroe, and in the aftermath a white couple claimed to have been kidnaped by Williams, some of his Negro followers and a white supporter.

Williams now says he tried to save the couple, Mr. and Mrs. G. Bruce Stegall, from being killed by angry blacks. "That was a humanitarian mistake I made," Williams snapped today.

After Williams fled, four other persons were tried on the kidnaping charge and convicted in 1964. The North Carolina Supreme Court overturned the convictions on the ground that blacks were systematically excluded from the grand jury that indicted them. New indictments were obtained for the four but not for Williams; no new trial of the four others have been held.

The night of the alleged kidnaping, Williams, who says he was fearful that white vigilantes and police were out to kill him, fled Monroe. For days his whereabouts were unknown. Then, he surfaced in Havana, where he lived for several years, moving on to China and finally, for the last two years, Tanzania.

It was soon after his arrival in Tanzania that the Republic of New Africa was born in Detroit. An avowedly separatist group, it demands that five states in the South be provided for black people to create their own nation. Williams agreed to become the president in exile.

"I am back here," Williams told the news conference, "to serve the cause of justice, and whatever that requires, I am willing to do."

REFUSED PASSAGE

Returning contained its own horrors for Williams. After being assured by his American friends that he would be treated generously by Michigan officials in pre-trial proceedings and that North Carolina's case seemed shaky, Williams set

out from Cairo only to be refused passage through London on TWA. He spent six days in a London jail while Henry worked out his release and passage, courtesy of a nervous and embarrassed airline.

"It was service reserved only for a president," Henry quipped about the transatlantic flight on TWA, "and we appreciate it." The menu was the basic seven-course meal served in first class sections of transatlantic flights.

Eager to erase the memory of earlier unpleasantness, TWA officials denied published reports that the flight was costing the airline $20,000. "We ferry airplanes around the world all day, 40,000-to-50,000 miles a day," said spokesman Frank Gillespie. "We'll send this one on to New York this afternoon for a charter flight back to London and that is the kind of thing we are doing all of the time."

Williams' followers in the Republic of New Africa turned out 100 strong and followed him through legal appearances and on to his press conference, where he said he would continue to struggle to realize the goals of the Republic.

TREATED BEST IN CHINA

He said he was treated best in China of all the places he went, but he said he would remain and fight for justice in America, even if he is ultimately extradited to North Carolina. "But if I go back to North Carolina," he said, "I'm going back for war, to fight."

His low opinion of America has not been tempered by time and absence.

"America," he said, "is on her way out. America is stupid and all over the world, people are laughing at America."

[From the New York Times, Sept. 15, 1969]

MILITANT HOPEFUL ON RACIAL JUSTICE; WILLIAMS FINDS U.S. TODAY YIELDS CHANCE FOR CHANGE

(By Thomas A. Johnson)

DETROIT, September 14.—An eight-year exile did not rid Robert F. Williams, the black revolutionary, of the conviction that armed self defense is at times the Negro's best politics, but Mr. Williams said yesterday it had convinced him that America today represented "the best chance ever" for "social changes and racial justice."

A "selfless society," Mr. Williams said in an interview, is the necessary vehicle for bringing about these changes. He added that he was committed to such a society.

The racial, youth and college disorders, and assassinations of political and civil rights figures, "while tragic," have brought the nation to the point where it is ripe for change, brought about peacefully by an enlightened public, he contended.

Touching a motto in Chinese characters—"serve the people"—pinned above the breast pocket of his gray Mao jacket, Mr. Williams said he would work to apply in the nation's black ghettos the lessons of discipline, commitment and "true militancy" that he learned in China.

TWO-HOUR INTERVIEW

In friendly and unhurried tones, Mr. Williams spoke for two hours late yesterday to reporters for The New York Times and The Washington Post, in a modest but comfortable home in an integrated suburb of Detroit. His wife, Mabel, a former Roman Catholic nursery director in North Carolina, sat quietly on the floor beside him.

Some supporters of the racially separatists Republic of New Africa, of which Mr. Williams was voted president while in self-imposed exile, also sat quietly and listened. Seldom did they accentuate his remarks with the customary "Right on" or "Teach, brother." This was probably because Mr. Williams appeared, in some instances, to contradict the often strident militancy of some spokesmen for the republic.

It did not appear at the time, however, that there were any unabridgeable

philosophical differences between Mr. Williams, the student of modern-day China, and his African-named and African-clothed followers.

Mr. Williams's importance and role in the black movement is at this time still a matter of speculation. Although he brings a new theme, couched in appeals to "intellect and effectiveness," his credentials as a gun-carrying militant are unassailable.

With several nationally known, left-leaning black militants either in jail or out of the country, Mr. Williams is expected to attract attention as head of a separatist organization with black nationalist affiliations across the nation. In addition, he was welcomed in China (where 'Chou En-lai told me the night I left that I always had a home here"), a nation that many black nationalists admire.

Mr. Williams flew to Detroit from London on Friday. After arrest on a fugitive warrant from North Carolina, he was released by Federal officials on $1,000 bail and was released by Wayne County officials on a $10,000 personal recognizance bond. He is to appear in County Court on Nov. 10 for an extradition hearing on a kidnapping charge.

TIMING OF HIS RETURN

His lawyer, Milton Henry, said that although Mr. Williams had been subpoenaed to appear Sept. 30 before the Senate Judiciary Committee, he was advising his client to settle the extradition matter first.

Talking evenly about why he had chosen this time to return to the United States, Mr. Williams said: "People are saying it's a hopeless situation [in America], but it's not a hopeless situation. We've got the best situation we ever had: Why? Because there is so much unrest and discontentment. It is not bad but good. The mere fact that they're discontented means they are dissatisfied, and that's the first step toward a social change."

He said that the primary need was showing people "what needs to be done and how this [racial problem] can be solved."

Mr. Williams expressed much admiration for China's "cultural revolution," which he said had the objective of "ridding man of selfishness."

"MOST DIFFICULT FIGHT"

He said, "If man can get rid of selfishness, this will abolish most of the evils of the world, but this is the most difficult fight of man—to be selfless now."

Besides the lesson of "selflessness," or striving toward a "collective society," Mr. Williams said he also hoped to try to "instill pride in our people" and "clean up the ghettos ourselves."

Asked if he would work with white help in the ghettos, Mr. Williams answered:

"We will, where possible, work with them when they work in good faith and show good faith. We are not looking for enemies, we are looking for progress. We have enough enemies. I don't believe in sectarianism based on politics, religion or race. But one thing I would insist on is that we maintain the right of survival, that is the right to defend ourselves at any cost against any enemy. It is our duty, however, to show goodwill toward those who would help us."

He has said that the races should separate "if they can't get along."

In China, Mr. Williams said, he and his wife were, to their embarrassment, treated as honored guests.

"They said, he recalled: 'as a black man in America, you have suffered much and you deserve to have the best.' I was treated so well (two cooks, two maids and a chauffeured car) that I felt guilty about my own people and it became harder and harder to accept."

He said he wanted to be a part of both "the struggle and the suffering."

Mr. Williams denied that the Chinese had attempted to influence him during his stay in the "Peace Committee" compound in Peking, where he wrote the revolutionary newsletter The Crusader.

He said he was not a Communist and "I am not interested in promoting ideologies or philosophies."

"I am interested in freedom and justice and I will base my struggle on a humanitarian point of view," he said.

Asked if he could have developed the philosophy he now preaches had he remained in the United States, Mr. Williams, with a broad grin, said, "If I had been here, I would have been dead."

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 15, 1969*]

'STRUGGLE OF BLACK PEOPLE WAS DEVELOPING'—WILLIAMS SAYS DUTY CALLED HIM BACK

(By Robert C. Maynard)

DETROIT, SEPT. 14.—Robert F. Williams, the North Carolina Negro leader who fled from the United States eight years ago in the face of a kidnaping charge, said he returned from a life of extreme comfort in China because "the struggle of black people was developing to such a point that I felt it my duty to come back."

Williams, who returned Friday to face extradition proceedings on the North Carolina charge, is living with relatives in Detroit while his legal problems are being resolved and while he decides on the direction of his public life.

Williams returns to the United States at a time of great unrest in the cities and on the campuses, and where there is a void in the ranks of nationally known leadership on the black left. Stokely Carmichael and Eldridge Cleaver are abroad; Huey P. Newton is in jail and H. Rap Brown, under state and federal indictments, has been almost silent for more than a year.

Williams, therefore, not only walks into a vacuum, he comes armed with ideas and experiences gained in the one country to which black revolutionaries, irrespective of their other differences, look with respect—China.

"I was living so well in China that I started feeling guilty about black people being killed while I had an automobile at my disposal and a chauffeur and I could go any place in the country I wanted to go and they never let me go without anything . . . It made me feel guilty about my own people and it became harder and harder to accept this. Also I had gained great insight into the struggle of men and countries."

It was his description of those insights that occupied a large portion of a two-hour interview that Williams provided here to The Washington Post and The New York Times. The meeting took place in a neat ranch house in an integrated suburb of Detroit. Members of Williams' family and close friends sat around the living room in a tight circle hanging on each word of the returned exile. Occasionally one would say, "Oh, yes, brother. Right, right."

Or they would laugh with great delight, as when Williams described how much better he feels the police in China treat citizens, compared with the United States.

"If a man commits an offense there, he hopes the police catch him before his neighbors do."

The laughter and delight at having Williams back among them also took a bitter turn, for when the former president of the Monroe, N.C., chapter of the NAACP left the United States, he was an object of hatred among the whites of his community. So there was laughter without humor when Williams was asked if the insights he gained in China would have been possible had he remained here. He said:

"If I had stayed here, I wouldn't be alive."

Eight years have not dulled the vividness of Williams' memory of his last months in the United States. His attempts to integrate the white swimming pool in Monroe brought down the wrath of the local whites.

He described the four attempts that he says were made on his life and he brought the room to a hush of awe, anger and respect. It was as though the incidents occurred yesterday as he told them.

"The mob was moving in. They had us surrounded. I told the boy behind me to hand me the rifle under the seat . . . there was already a bullet in the chamber and I didn't know it, so I worked the bolt and the bullet fell out and hit the ground. When those people saw that long bullet, they started backing up," Williams said of a day in 1961. There were several like that before the one on which he finally fled.

A CHANGED MAN

Now, looking much as he had before he left, having aged little in the Cuba and China years, he sat in his Mao-styled suit and spoke of himself as a changed man, a man who has seen a different light through the window and wants to change society in ways he never would have conceived of without his China hiatus.

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*A duplicate of this article under the same byline was printed in the New York Post of Sept. 15, 1969.

China is the bench mark of Robert Williams' career, the experience by which the past is measured and the future guessed at.

"If a man can rid himself of selfishness, this will abolish most of the evil of the world," he said. "But this is the most difficult fight of man, to be selfless."

He said that to him that means that the resources of the society are pooled, that people "take what they need and no more." He told of a factory in China where workers turned back wages that exceeded their needs. To him, that was the ultimate example of the selfless society at the common man's level.

And what seemed in the West to be upheaval in China several years ago made much more sense to him, Williams said, because it was part of the same struggle to create the selfless society, the selfless man.

"The transition they are struggling for is to reconstitute society and to remove all of the class distinctions from the society that can be removed, and to remove the idea of personal gain. That is why it is so difficult."

THE SELFLESS SOCIETY

And although he would like to see such goals instilled in a struggle here, he also enters this disclaimer:

"I didn't come back to America with the idea of leading anybody. If the people want me, I will be at their service, but if I am to lead, it will have to be toward the goal of a selfless society . . . we have to instill in our people in the ghetto that they have to build a selfless society, a collective society."

He thinks the discontent in the cities and across the country make this "the best situation in the United States that we ever had, because there is so much unrest and discontentment. It is not bad, but good. The mere fact that people are dissatisfied is the first step toward social change. Now all you need to do is show them what needs to be done."

Taking gentle exception to the emotional appeals of some black nationalists, Williams said:

"I've learned that we have to be less emotional about this thing, that when you fight you fight to win. You can never win on emotion, but on intellect, the will to win."

WORKING WITH WHITES

And he also took a carefully charted road between the conflicting camps of black nationalists on the hot issue of working with whites.

"We will, where possible, work with them when they work in good faith and show good faith. We are not looking for enemies, we are looking for progress."

Frequently in the conversation, he espoused that kind of flexibility of viewpoint, promising to study his country more before taking harder stands. Besides, he said of himself:

"I am not interested in promoting ideologies or philosophies. I am interested in justice and in freedom . . . It is not a matter of socialism, or what they call socialism, or communism. I am not interested in what they call democracy . . . Those are names."

As an illustration, he said the Chinese leaders and people used to say to him:

LEADERS COME AND GO

"You are not a communist. Khrushchev is a communist. We can't get along with Khrushchev but we can get along with you."

Now the challenge for Williams will be getting along in the mercurial setting of black activism where leaders streak across the public horizon like meteorites and soon disappear.

In the time since Williams left the United States, several generations of activist leaders on the national black scene have come and gone; a score of organizations have been born and have died.

Among the younger of the groups to appear is the Republic of New Africa, which named Williams its president-in-exile when it was created more than two years ago.

The Republic is the inspiration of two brothers, Milton and Richard Henry. Milton Henry, an honors graduate of Yale Law School, is known to his friends and followers as Brother Gaidi and Richard Henry is known as Brother Imari.

Milton Henry, the legal theoretician of the Republic of New Africa argues that after black people were freed from slavery, they were given no collective opportunity to express their will as to whether they wanted to be citizens of the United States, create their own country or return to Africa.

SEPARATE NATION SOUGHT

The Henry brothers and their followers in the RNA believe a time is coming when blacks, if given a choice in such a plebiscite, would vote for separation into a nation of their own.

They consider the RNA now as a provisional government without a country and they have elected Robert Williams as the man to lead them forward.

WILLIAMS UNCERTAIN

He is encouraged to take on the job, but still uncertain, as he is about what appear to him to be changes in this country since he left.

He said he is certain that "progress feeds desire. If a man is completely dehumanized, there is little chance of revolt, but when he starts to feel that he is a human being . . . you are most likely to get revolt . . ."

His own ideas of revolt have changed in that he is able to define the kind of society he wants to achieve, one based on the principles of sharing and commitment of one neighbor to another's fate. He wants to change men as well as systems.

"The thing that struck me so much when I was in China," Williams said, "was why Christians, who have been claiming all of the time since Christ that that is what they wanted to build, why now are they so hostile to the society that is advancing along that road?"

What did he decide about Christianity?

"I concluded it was a big hustle."

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 15, 1969]

BLACK EXILE SUMMONED BY SENATE

DETROIT, September 14.—Almost as soon as he arrived in the United States, Robert F. Williams, the black American exile who fled to Cuba and China after being accused of kidnaping in North Carolina, was subpoenaed to appear before the Internal Security subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The invitation, signed by Judiciary Committee Chairman James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), asked Williams to appear with such items as his address book at a hearing on Sept. 30 at 10:30 a.m.

Milton Henry, Williams' lawyer and friend, said he doubted Williams could keep the date since he is in the midst of extradition proceedings in Michigan stemming from the kidnaping charge.

Williams, during an interview over the weekend, talked of the events surrounding the kidnaping incident in Monroe, N.C., on Aug. 27, 1961.

On a tense Sunday, when Negro followers of Williams were convinced the Ku Klux Klan was about to make a foray through the neighborhood of Williams' home, a car bearing Mr. and Mrs. G. Bruce Stegall came through.

Williams said the couple were stopped by his neighbors a block from his home and brought there by people who, in the heated racial atmosphere of the moment, wanted to "take them someplace and kill them."

Williams said he intervened and the couple wound up spending a couple of hours in his house until the atmosphere calmed sufficiently for them to leave safely.

It was the next day, Williams said, that Mrs. Stegall was asked by local authorities to swear out a kidnaping complaint. "But she said in an interview over then BBC (the British Broadcasting Corporation) that she didn't consider it a kidnaping until all of these officials and newspaper people came to her and urged her to file this thing."

[From the Aviation Week & Space Technology, Sept. 15, 1969]

DENIAL OF SEAT TO MILITANT SPURS CALL FOR PROTESTS

(By Laurence Doty)

WASHINGTON.—Threat to hold demonstrations against Trans World Airlines because of a refusal to provide passage to a U.S. black militant again underscores the hazardous exposure of airlines to international political crises (AW&ST Sept. 8, p. 22).

Earlier this month, in London, TWA denied a seat on a flight from London to Detroit to Robert F. Williams, who for the past eight years has been a fugitive from a North Carolina kidnaping charge. Williams held a confirmed reservation with a validated ticket issued under an interline agreement by United Arab Airlines in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Last week, Williams called upon black power groups to demonstrate against TWA, even though both Pan American World Airways and British Overseas Airways Corp. subsequently refused to accept him as a passenger.

Thus, TWA has been drawn unwittingly into a position which could provoke active protests from civil rights and liberty organizations, as well as black power units, throughout its global route system. Only last month, the airline was a victim in Damascus of a hijacking and bombing of a Boeing 707 which stemmed directly from the Israeli-Arab hostilities.

TWA took one step which it hoped would alleviate its position as a target for demonstrators. It told the State Dept. that it would be willing to modify its stand against transporting Williams under three conditions.

These include requests that the department ask for Williams' passage in writing, that an appropriate government escort accompany him on the trip and that the time and date of departure be left to the airline's discretion.

These conditions were met, and late last week arrangements were made to fly him back as the only passenger other than an escort. The aircraft crew consisted of supervisory personnel only.

The British government attempted to expel Williams from England by flying him to Cairo on United Arab Airlines. But the flight was cancelled when the carrier's Hawker Siddeley Comet 4 transport collided with a catering truck and was slightly damaged.

The planned government action was dropped later when the intervention by several lawyers, a civil liberty organization and a society of black immigrants in England focused public attention on the incident.

Ironically, the British were among those nations which last year rejected a U.S. proposal that political asylum rights should be denied convicted hijackers of aircraft (AW&ST Sept. 8, p. 23). There has been no thought of granting political asylum to Williams. As of late last week he was held in prison in London (see box).

Legally, TWA is standing behind section 1111 of the Federal Aviation Act as justification for its original position. This reads in part:

" . . . any air carrier is authorized to refuse transportation to a passenger or to refuse to transport property when, in the opinion of the air carrier, such transportation would or might be inimical to safety of flight."

The Tokyo Convention (AW&ST Nov. 18, 1968, p. 60), which will become effective Dec. 1, provides broader authority than the Federal Aviation Act for rejecting passage. The act gives the right of refusal to "the air carrier."

But the Tokyo pact affirms the authority and power of an aircraft's chief pilot or captain. This right is now recognized in most countries but, prior to the Tokyo protocol, it lacked continuity of jurisdiction in most areas.

Currently, a captain's action in disembarking any passenger is subject to the laws of the country in which he lands.

Also, a captain's decision may be judged in accordance with the national laws of the land overflown.

Under the treaty's provision, a captain may take "reasonable measures," including restraint, to protect the aircraft, maintain discipline and retain proper control of the aircraft in flight.

This establishes an immunity against civil liability or criminal prosecution for a chief pilot.

But the major support a captain would receive from the convention in a case similar to the Williams affair lies in the right to turn over to authorities of any state which is party to the treaty any person the pilot believes has committed a crime as defined by the penal law of his home country.

Thus, even though the Tokyo Convention was not in force at the time of the incident, International law implicitly upholds TWA since both the U.S. and Britain have ratified the treaty. The U.S. was the 12th nation to deposit the instrument with the International Civil Aviation Organization, bringing the total ratifications to the number necessary to make the agreement effective.

Williams boarded the United Arab Airline flight at Dar es Salaam on Sept. 5 en route to London via Entebbe, Cairo, Rome and Geneva. His ticket covered

confirmed travel to Detroit, with connections with TWA at London. He held a travel document good for travel to the U.S. only, issued by the U.S. embassy in Tanzania.

During his absence from this country, he has denounced U.S. racism from platforms in Cuba, Africa and Asia, including North Vietnam and Red China. His arbitrary arrest at London-Heathrow Airport immigration control and confinement in prison undoubtedly establishes him as a martyr in the eyes of black militants.

PASSAGE DENIED

LONDON.—Militant black leader Robert F. Williams, who wants to return to the U.S. to face kidnap charges, was grounded in London's Pentonville Jail last week after Trans World Airlines and other carriers refused to accept him as a passenger (see story).

Since then, TWA offices near Picadilly Circus have been picketed by Williams' supporters, one of whom carries a sign which reads: "Up, Up and Away to Pentonville Jail."

[From Newsweek, Sept. 22, 1969]

EXPATRIATES: HOT CARGO

When Trans World Airlines Flight 721 from London touched down in Detroit last week, an astonished British businessman named Edward Williams was met by an extraordinary welcoming committee—50 policemen and an excited crowd of black militants. "I thought you perhaps did this all the time for foreign visitors," the white businessman said later. In fact, Williams' weird reception was due to a case of mistaken identity. His welcomers had assumed that the "Williams" on the flight manifest was black firebrand Robert F. Williams, 44, a fugitive from American justice for the past eight years. But that Williams, it turned out, was too hot a cargo for TWA to handle, and he had landed, not in Detroit, but in a British prison.

Robert Williams fled the U.S. in 1961, charged with kidnaping a white couple during a racial flare-up in Monroe, N.C. He set up Radio Free Dixie in Castro's Cuba, urging Deep South Negroes to "meet violence with violence." Then, with his wife, Mabel, Williams moved on to Peking, to hobnob with Mao Tse-tung and continue his career as an anti-American propagandist. Last year, Williams popped up in the East African republic of Tanzania, as president of the "Republic of New Africa," an all-black nation he proposed to carve out of five Southern states.

But later, Williams decided to return home to face the kidnaping charge, and last September, the U.S. Embassy in Tanzania issued him a passport valid only for a one-way trip to the States. But when Williams attempted to go through with his repatriation last week, his homeland suddenly seemed less than eager to have him back. TWA officials in London—where Williams had arrived on an Arab airliner—were informed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation that Williams might be armed, and that disorders might greet his arrival in Detroit. Accordingly, TWA refused passage to Williams, and since no other airline would give him a lift, the black leader was interned in London's Pentonville Prison as an undesirable alien.

The ensuing uproar proved deeply embarrassing to both the airline and the U.S. Government. Civil libertarians in Britain and the U.S. protested angrily, and Williams, spurning an offer to travel to the U.S. by ship, embarked on a hunger strike. Eventually, TWA hit upon a solution. It provided a 142-passenger Boeing 707 to fly Williams, his lawyer and two security guards across the Atlantic. And the exasperated airline said that it would pick up the $20,000 tab for the trip. Thus, late last week the sleek Boeing 707 landed in Detroit, and a docile Robert F. Williams, togged out in a Mao boiler suit and cap, was finally granted his wish: he was taken into custody by a team of FBI agents, and subsequently released on bond pending a hearing on a North Carolina request that he be extradited there to face trial on the original kidnaping charge.

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